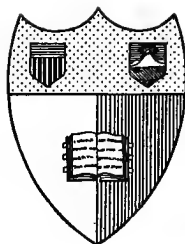


HOW
SHALL THE
RICH ESCAPE?

BY
DR. F. S. BILLINGS.



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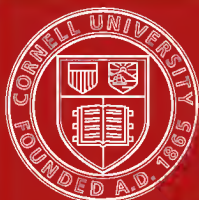
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HOW SHALL THE RICH ESCAPE ?

BY

DR. F. S. BILLINGS

FOUNDER AND LATE DIRECTOR OF THE PATHO-BIOLOGICAL LABORATORY OF
THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA.

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DEDICATION.

To a Friend without whose assistance this book could not have been published, and whose years of untiring sympathy can only be expressed by the words of the *Hitopadesa* :

“By whom was constructed this jewel of a word, that monosyllable Friend ; that dispeller of fear, that harbinger of grief, and the confidential repository of all joys ?”

“A friend, who is so by nature, is the gift of Providence. Such unfeigned friendship is not extinguished, even in misfortunes.”

“Men have not that confidence even in their mothers, in their wives, sisters, brothers, nor in their own offspring, as in one who is a friend in principle.”

THE AUTHOR.

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PROLOGUE.

NOTHING IS SO SENSATIONAL AS THE TRUTH.

PROLOGUE.

Nothing is so sensational as the truth. It can be said with equal truth, that there is nothing so dangerous. In the following pages it has been the endeavor to demonstrate the truth with regard to the majority of things in which humanity is, at present, bound by the falsehoods of, and its adherence to, traditional superstition and ignorance. Many critics will affirm that this is an iconoclastic work. They will be mistaken! While, in nearly all instances, it is based on the popularization of scientific knowledge, of established facts, and is as much as possible free from hypothesis, at all times the analytical method has been followed; and only after arriving at the bottom fact (the Law of Self-Protection), as the fundamental moral principle by which all social customs and institutions must be judged, has the synthetical or constructive method been applied. Thoroughness in synthesis is not the purpose of this book. On the other hand, by a rather critical adherence to the analytical method, by which social institutions have been freed from their traditional falsehood, the ground has been left so clear of the weeds of superstition that he who can read the book of nature and think for himself and appreciate the fundamental Law of Self-Protection, can apply it to every human institution. The assertion may be egotistical, but it seems to me that the builders of our social institutions have continually passed by the corner-stone and fallen down before some "Theory" which had no foundation, and that in proclaiming the practically accepted fact that "man's first duty is to look out for himself," under the name of the Law of Self-Protection, the "Stone of the Wise," for which so many have thrown away their lives, has been brought to plain view. No discovery has been made! On the other hand, a well-known principle has

been brought forward, for the first time at its true value. Dating back before Christianity, even so far as historical records extend, man has been face to face with misery. In his ignorance he has followed false Gods. He has endeavored to overcome the miseries of life by an apologetic method, instead of applying the axe of intelligence to the root of the tree of ignorance. He has taught himself (no other expression will do), and even made himself believe that the Law of Nature was false; that he must combat nature, instead of discover her methods and work with her. The ideal of human virtue has been self-sacrifice instead of self-protection. It is taught in all our schools, churches and families. A great master of education writes thus :

“Let the boy learn the material forces of nature and how he can best make use of them, for the good of his fellow-men and his own uplifting.”

Any one who studies social questions, and can read for himself, must admit that the few who do succeed in the world do so because their natural individualism is so great that the altruistic ignorance and false sentiments of thousands of years has been unable to ruin them. The purpose of this book is to expose the truth. That done, the ways are open. The reader has only to follow the broad and crooked way of traditional ignorance or to come out in the straight and narrow path which leads to the salvation of the race from its eternal miseries. He or she can choose for himself or herself.

THE IMMORTAL WAY.

The four great truths are these : Law, Cause, Thought, Action. In so far as the human microcosm has to do with the manifestations of the infinite cosmos, these form that which we call Life. They have never been more truly portrayed than in Mr. Arnold's poem which has been used so freely in these pages :

What hinders ! Children ? the Darkness hinders ! which breeds
Ignorance, mazed whereby ye take these “Theories”
For true, and thirst to have ; and, having, cling
To lusts which work your woes.

Ye that will tread the Narrow-Road, whose course
Bright Reason traces and pure Knowledge smooths ;
Ye who will take the high Religious-way
List, the Four Immortal Truths.

The first great truth is the Law. Walk
In fear of the Law, shunning all offence ;
In heed of the Law, which doth make man's fate ;
In Lordship over sense.

The next great Truth is Cause. Be not mocked !
Life which ye prize is long-drawn agony :
Only its pains abide ; its pleasures are
As birds which light and fly.

Ache of birth, ache of the helpless days,
Ache of hot youth, and ache of manhood's prime ;
Ache of the chill gray years and choking death
These fill your piteous time.

Sweet is fond love, but funeral flames must kiss
The breasts which pillow and the lips which cling.
Gallant is war-like Might, but vultures pick
The joints of chief and king.

Beauteous is Earth, but all its forest broods
Plot mutual slaughter, hungering to live ;
Of sapphire are the skies, but when men cry,
Famished, no drops they give.

Ask of the sick, the mourners ask of him
Who tottereth on his staff, lone and forlorn,
" Liketh thee life ? "

The third Truth is Right-Thought. What misery
Springs of itself and springs not direct from Cause ?
Senses and things perceived mingle, and light
Passion's quick spark of fire :

So flameth Ignorance, lust and thirst of things.
Eager ye cleave to shadows, dote on fond Theories ;
A false idea of Self in the Unknown ye plant, and make
A world around which seems ;

Dead to the light within, deaf to the sound
Of sweet truths breathed from far past sky, .
Dumb to the summons of the true life kept
For him who false puts by.

The fourth Truth is Right-Action. This is peace,
To conquer love of Self and lust of life,
To tear deep-rooted Ignorance from the mind
To still the inward strife ;

For love to clasp the great Eternal close ;
For glory to be Lord of Self, for pleasure
To live beyond all " Theory " for countless wealth
To lay up lasting treasure

Of wondrous service rendered, duties done,
In wisdom, soft speech, and stainless days,
These riches shall not fade away in life
Nor, even death dispraise.

Then, Misery ends, for Life and Death have ceased ;
How should lamps flicker when their oil is spent ?
The old sad count is clear, the new is clean ;
Thus hath a man content.

Manifold tracks lead by the crystal peak,
Around which curl antiquated superstitions
By steep and rugged ways the climber comes
Where breaks the Truth above traditions.

Strong minds will dare the boisterous road which storms,
Soaring and perilous, the mountain's breast ;
The weak must fall from ledge to ledge,
With ne'er a place to rest.

One road there surely is. Only that brain
May follow it which is done with superstitious things.
One Law, Manifold Cause ; Right Seeing ; Right Thought ;
Right Action. Spread no visions

For Heavenward flight, thou man with untrained brains,
Sweet is the lower air and safe and known
The material levels : strong ones alone leave
The nest their mothers made their own.

Dear is the love, I know, of wife and child ;
Pleasant the friends and pastimes of our years ;
Fruitful of good Life's gentle charities ;
False, though firm-set, its (traditional) fears.

Live—ye who must, such lives as live on these ;
Make ideal stairways of your weaknesses ; rise
By daily sojourn with your phantasies,
To self-deceptive vanities.

So shall ye pass to clearer heights and find
Easier ascents and lighter loads of sins,
And larger Will, to burst the bonds of ignorance,
Entering the Path. Who wins ?

To such commencement hath pure Reason touched,
He sees the noble Truths and straightway Road ;
By few or many steps such shall attain
Pure Reason's blest abode.

As one who stands on Himala's snowy horn,
Having naught o'er him but the boundless blue,
So, traditions being slain, the Man is come
Wisdom's verge unto.

Him, the Priests envy from their lower seats ;
Him, the Theologies to ruin cannot shake ;
All life is lived for him, all deaths are dead.
Ignorance will no more make

New homes. Seeking Truth, he gaineth all ;
Comprehending Self, the Universe is " I."
If any teach Reason is to cease,
Say unto such, they lie.

If any teach Reason is not the Law,
Say unto such they err ; not knowing this,
Nor what light shines beyond their untrimmed lamps,
Nor lifeless, timeless dreams.

Enter the Path. Pure Reason controls Fate !
No pains like passions ; no deceit like ignorance !
Enter the Path ! for hath he gone whose foot
Treads down that great offence—(God).

GOD OR NO GOD?

HOW SHALL THE RICH ESCAPE?

“CANST THOU BY SEARCHING FIND OUT GOD?”

THE burning question to-day is not so much who or what is God, but is there or is there not a God? Was creation due to an anthropomorphic man-God, or to the individualization of any one specific creative force? But few, if any, exact scientists the world over have an iota of belief in either of the above hypotheses. A recent writer¹ says: “All religion primarily devoted to the ‘Glory of God’ has left one long, hideous trail of suffering, of torture, and of blood.” That is a mistake. He should have said all theologies, as he should have also in the following: “The old religions (theologies) are crumbling. Everything crumbles which is not true. Never was there so little theology, never so much true religion, as at the present day. Never have men attended church so little; never have they attended hospital and asylum meetings so assiduously. Christianity is going down. Jesus is rising higher and higher.” The idea of a God has no evolution. It is unscientific and contrary to the spirit of evolution. It is evolution standing still. A contradiction. Professor Drummond, in his recent Boston lectures, said, “Evolution is a process.” The Professor evidently has no true conception of evolution, as was apparent all through his lectures. Evolution is not a process. Evolution is a series of interminable conditions, each one lapsing or extending into the other, the results

¹ Louis R. Ehrich, on Religion for all time.—Arena, March, 1893.

of a series of processes of the same general character. Evolution is a result, or better, a series of results, in which development has proceeded continuously from the most homogeneous forms with the simplest action to the greatest heterogeneity of structure and corresponding complexity in action. Evolution is a general name, or term, expressing the manner in which all the phenomena of the structural world have presented themselves until they have arrived at the condition in which we find them. It is a continuous development from the simple to the complex. The God idea, on the contrary, takes exactly the opposite course. Instead of developing from a simple, easily comprehended unit, the mother-God of liberal Christianity, it begins with a complexity of Gods, and a terribly incomprehensible heterogeneity, and simplifies and becomes homogeneous with the evolution of man's intellectual development. No one at all acquainted with the march of human history can deny this fact. Its truthfulness is all the proof necessary as to the erroneousness of the conception of any idea of a God, or the necessity of any such in the march of development.

No one will deny that the greatest of all social evils is ignorance. In the same spirit I assert that the quintessence of ignorance is a belief in, or the assumption of, a God as a necessary factor in creation. Job said, "Canst thou by searching find out God?" The modern theologian goes back entirely on his own authority and knows all about him, what he does, and what he looks like. In the "North American Review" for January, 1893, was published an audacious article by the Bishop of New Jersey, on "the limits of religious discussion." The author placed the limits in Christianity, but unfortunately failed to tell which of the many "anities" we may rely on. The Presbyterian Synod sitting in Cincinnati declared Professor Smith guilty of heresy, while a similar body sitting in New York at nearly the same time declared Professor Briggs guiltless of the same charge under similar conditions. And now the Washington Conference has decided that he is both an infidel and a heretic, and no one knows where to seek salvation.

Dr. Lorimer¹ well says :

¹ Arena, April, 1893.

"Why not leave these teachers alone? Why not permit them to freely set forth their views? for, if we could only believe it, error cannot proceed far without feeling the keen edge of truth, and the conflict between them will never and can never be decided by presbytery, synod, convention, or ecclesiastical council, but by the honest battle of argument, and the test of practical utility in the broad, untrammelled arena of actual life."

He also says :

"The trial of eminent professors will always seem farcical to the common-sense public, until the highest tribunals have decided what heresy is, and insist on inferior courts upholding and enforcing the standard."

The question is, what is heresy? Who shall decide? Experience extending over ages has well shown that no court on earth can decide. Our Methodist friends might consider it heresy if we did not take our theology with a "band-wagon" accompaniment. The Baptists insist that we must "be washed to be clean." Others tell that we must be "bathed in the blood of the Lamb" to be saved. Suppose we refuse either kind of a bath, are we heretics? The Bishop of New Jersey would undoubtedly assert that we must take the Episcopalian theological tea in strong doses, and refuse to accept the wishy-washy and undifferentiationable dilutions of the Unitarians. The Roman Catholics tell us that all the above is pure heresy, that the "word of God" of itself, or the teachings of Jesus, are not for us poor mortals to comprehend, unless they receive their own peculiar dispensation. Verily this is a tough question for the unfortunate, outside the circumscribed limits of the Church. It is no wonder the "heathen" fail to comprehend the virtues of the salvation-medicine sent to them when the doctors themselves all give them contradictory prescriptions.

As to the authority of the Bible, the Presbyterians at their Washington meeting, June, 1893, declared: "It is an impossibility for God to lie. The word of God is the truth from the beginning;" but Dr. Lyman Abbott, of Brooklyn, answers these very good Christians by saying:

"The Bible is not the word of God. And repeating almost the words, and certainly the sentiment, of Dr. Horton, who lectured last year before the students of the Union Theological Seminary, I charge

any man who calls the Bible the word of God to find that phrase, 'the word of God,' ever employed in the Bible to designate the Bible, or even employed in one part of the Bible to designate any other part.

"When a man takes the book, that is, what men have written, puts it up and says, 'You must hear the word of God,' you must hear only the echo of that word. I don't wonder that misplaced indignation goes out against the book which the would-be defenders are misusing."

So, after all, we heretics who trust to our own intelligence are the only ones on safe ground.

Theology is not of to-day. Theology is ever "looking backward." Mr. Bellamy will please pardon that inadvertent allusion to his suggestive book, which does indeed look forward to the days when theology shall be driven back to the darkness of its moldy tombs. Theology is based on ignorance. It is founded on superstition. Lippert says: "In the culture-historical sense we have every reason to designate that as superstition¹ which in a rudimentary manner has extended from one period of ethnological development into another, and continues to be believed though in direct contradiction to the evidences of the later period." That is a good statement of theology which I have elsewhere defined as the endeavor of ignorance to define the Unknown by falling back on the traditions of a period of still greater ignorance as authoritative.

Theology relies on tradition. It denies reason. Were God anything he should be the incarnation of the highest reason. To deny reason should be to deny God. Otherwise, the whole fabric is wrong, and "God did not make man in his own image." The theologians are the true infidels. They refuse to believe the results of their own reason. They deny their own reason as the only trustworthy guide man has ever had. To me this seems the same thing as for them to deny their God. But do they deny their own reason? They do it, and very liberal men also among them, with the same imbecility as the Roman Church denies to man any right to use his reason in things theological. Let us hear Dr. Lorimer on this question.²

"As in the Commonwealth supreme authority rests in the people,

¹ *Kulturgeschichte*, Vol. I., p. 95.

² *Arena*, *loc. cit.*

so in Christianity it resides wholly in the Lord Jesus Christ. He, alone, claims it, and to him alone it is ascribed in the New Testament. The Bible never assumes it; the church as therein described never pretends to it, and reason is never recognized as qualified or empowered to exercise it.

"The New Testament sustains to him (Jesus) the relation of a legislature; it records his decisions and formulates his ideas and requirements. Reason is the Judiciary—I mean reason illuminated by the Spirit of God.

"Were reason the supreme authority it would inevitably reject the Scriptures altogether, and if the Scriptures are entitled to this dignity, exclusively, they would constantly antagonize both the church and reason."

What sense is there in all that? First we are told that "reason is never recognized or qualified to exercise" judgment, and in the next passage that "reason is the judiciary" to which, to be sure, is added the meaningless words, "I mean reason illuminated by the Spirit of God." After all, then, Dr. Lorimer does use such reason as he has just as the rest of us poor mortals have to. Did he not he would be an infidel to himself. On the other hand he is not a heretic (in his own church!), for he accepts its traditional version of the, so-called, sacred documents of the church as trustworthy, but then only according to his reason. Did he not do this he would be an imbecile and unfit to be allowed free among men. All men believe according to such reason as they have. That they do not think with heretics (we refuse to be called infidels) is no more their fault than it is that heretics do not think with them. The trouble with all persons who believe in the traditional doctrines of the church is that they really do what Dr. Lorimer in the first quotation claims: they fail to recognize that their ontogenetic, or individual, reason is the only guide they can follow. A close study of the human race shows the cause of all this and inspires one with unbounded charity for such unfortunate mortals, though their beliefs are the chief vehicles of obstruction to human progress. In a scientific sense these men have no ontogenetic or individual reason whatever. They do not and cannot think for themselves. They have phylogenetic or hereditary intellects. Their intellects are antique reflectors in new cases. That is all they are. They think with their ancestors. They live in the past and not the present. They cannot help it. The poor things were born

so. They have plenty of company. The majority of the race is with them. Thankfully, more and more people are breaking the intellectual umbilicus and using their own brains. Men are finally being born in the image of the Biblical God. That is, if he ever possessed reason. Men are fast losing their reverence for traditional superstition and gaining respect for their own individual ability. God suffers thereby. Robert Ingersoll has truly said, that "An honest God is the noblest work of man." The idea of God has been growing more divinely human with the evolution of man's intelligence, until it has been brought to that ideal of perfected humanity, a true mother. The advanced church now tells us that "God is love." Can there be any truer description of that most idealistic of all human creations, a mother? Is she not the embodiment of self-sacrificing love? The Gospels say that "No man can do more than give his life for another." How many heathen mothers, who never knew Jesus, have more than equaled him in this most divine of all attributes? Christian mothers have been no grander if more enlightened. It is a natural instinct. The tigress shares it. But what is God? He cannot be reason, for we have seen the Church universal denies him that attribute. They tell us "God is a spirit." What is that? That which we have no conception of has no existence to an intelligent person. It may be my misfortune, but I must admit that any ability on my part to comprehend "a spirit" is as impossible as to comprehend a vacuum. The fetich worshiper believes his God to be a spirit, only he is better off than the Christian, for he has "spirits" at command, and by what may be termed "inspiration" imagines one spirit animating one object and another another, to suit his whims. In another way he also has the advantage of the Christian: he can behead his spirits, or punish them, by knocking over or smashing to pieces the inspirited object if events do not transpire to suit him. The only respectable, or better, respect-commanding theological system was, and still is, old-fashioned Calvinism, with its terror of a God—who, even when he appeared on earth and sacrificed himself in the more lovable mythology of the Christ, could not do better than give predestinated children "the easiest room in hell." We can readily conceive of

such a monster, but I will defy any one who can see and speak the truth to see any manifestation in the tortures and sufferings of life that "God is love." What is love? Let us be brief! That impulse which leads one to self-sacrifice (as it is called) for cause. That definition is explicit enough, is it not? Can we see any such manifestation in the cruel realities of nature?

"Our father which art in Heaven!" What mockery! Is this an exemplification of a true father's love?

"Then midway in the road
Slow tottering, from the hovel where he hid,
Came forth a wretch in rags, haggard and foul,
An old, old man, whose shriveled skin, sun-tanned,
Clung like a beast's hide to his fleshless bones.
Bent was his back with load of many years,
His eye-pits red with rust of ancient tears,
His dim orbs blear with rheum, his toothless jaws
Wagging with palsy and the fright to see
So many and such joy. One skinny hand
Clutched a worn staff to prop his quivering limbs,
And one was pressed upon the ridge of ribs,
Whence came in gasps the heavy painful breath.
'Alms!' moaned the wretch, 'give, good people, for I die
'To-morrow or the next day!' then the cough
Choked him, but still he stretched his palm and stood
Blinking and groaning 'mid his spasms—'Alms' "

Have those lines described a man? Is that that self-proud creature who of himself wrote, "In the image of God was I created"? Suppose we ask that loving father, "Can that be true?" "By his works shall ye know God!" What answer do we receive, when we ask,

"What thing is this who seems a man,
Yet surely only seems, being so bowed,
So miserable, so horrible, so sad?
Are men born sometimes thus? What meaneth he,
Moaning, 'To-morrow or next day I die'?
Finds he no food that so his bones jut forth?
What woe has happened to this piteous one?"

The loving answer God's work gives us is:

"This is no other than an aged man.
Some fourscore years ago his back was straight,
His eye bright, and his body goodly: now
The thievish years have sucked his sap away,

Pillaged his strength and filched his will and wit,
His lamp has lost its oil, the wick burns black,
What life he keeps is one poor lingering spark
Which flickers for the finish. Such is age,
Which comes to all of us."

Is there fatherly love in such an ending as that? Surely the "Song of the Winds" to Buddha more faithfully depicted that the truth of life and living be not a dream :

" We are the voices of the wandering wind,
Which moan for rest and rest can never find ;
Lo ! as the wind is, so is mortal life,
A moan, a sigh, a sob, a storm, a strife.

" O Maya's son ! because we roam the earth,
Moan we upon these strings ; we make no mirth,
So many woes we see in many lands,
So many streaming eyes and wringing hands.

" Yet mock me while we wail, for, could they know
This life they cling to is but empty show :
'Twere all as well to bid a cloud to stand,
Or hold a running river with the hand."

Aye! could we but comprehend in babyhood as we do in mature life the cruelties of the same, no power could prevent us all from committing suicide at our mother's breast.

" —they say the babe is wise
That weepeth being born."

Is love demonstrated in the consumptive sick child? in the syphilitic victim of unsatiated lust? in the deaf, dumb, blind or idiotic cripple, following scarlet fever? in the agonies of cholera? in the pains of childbirth? in death itself, and the agony of leaving loved ones at the mercy of this world as it is, even with all the so-called "good" there is in it?

Does the Father demonstrate his undying love when we meet some poor wretch crying in the agony of disease

" 'Help, masters ! lift me to my feet : oh God, help !
Or I shall die before I reach my house.'
'Who said that ?' 'What is the matter ?'
Only some wretch stricken with the cholera whose quivering
frame,
Caught by the deadly plague lays in the dust,
Writhing with agony ;

The chill sweat beaded on his brow, his mouth
 Dragged awry with twitchings of sore pain
 Eyes wild with inward agony.
 Gasping, he clutches the grass to rise, and rose
 Halfway, then sank with quaking feeble limbs
 And screams of terror, crying, ' Ah the pain !
 Good Father, help ! ' " ?

Does that Father help? Do not the records of the suffering ages tell us to

" Ask naught from helpless Gods by gift or prayer,
 Nor bribe with food nor feed with fruit and cakes—
 Within ourselves deliverance must be sought
 Each man his prison makes " ?

Do not those records tell us that

" This man is smitten with some pest : his elements
 Are all confounded ; in his veins the blood,
 Which ran a wholesome river, leaps and boils,
 A fiery flood ; his heart which kept good time
 Beats like an ill-played drum-stick, quick and slow ;
 His sinews slacken like a bowstring slipped ;
 The strength is gone from ham, and loin, and neck,
 And all the grace and joy of manhood fled :
 This is a sick man with the fit upon him,
 See ! how he plucks and plucks to seize his grief,
 And rolls his bloodshot orbs, and grinds his teeth,
 And draws his breath as if 'twere choking smoke.
 Lo ! now he would be dead, but shall not die
 Until the loving God hath done his work in him,
 Killing the nerves which die before the life :
 Then when his strings have cracked in agony
 And all his bones are empty of the sense
 To ache, the plague will quit him and light elsewhere " ?

With awful dread we stand before such a scene and with the trust of our childhood's teachings still uppermost in our minds ask some theologian, some self-constituted agent of the great Unknown,

" And are there others, are there many thus ?
 Or might it be to me as now with him ? "

What answer do we receive? Is it not the merciless and savage truth? Is it not in words and deeds so utterly foreign to our conceptions of a loving Father that we must either dethrone such a superstition or admit Reason has never been enthroned in us? Do not the records heedlessly say :

“ this comes
 In many forms to all men ; griefs and wounds,
 Sickness and tetter, palsies, leprosies,
 Hot fevers, watery wastings, issues, blains,
 Befall all flesh and enter everywhere ” ?

And when we ask, “ Dear Lord, good Father, come such ills unobserved ? ” is not the encouraging answer,

“ ‘ Yes, my darling child,
 Like the sly snake they come,
 That stings unseen ; like the striped murderer,
 Who waits to spring from the wayside bush,
 Hiding beside the shaded path ; or like
 The lightning, striking these and sparing those,
 As chance may send ’ ” ?
 ‘ Then all men must fear God ? ’ ”

To which the priest answers—

“ ‘ Aye, my child, all men live in fear.’
 ‘ And none receive this boasted love ? ’
 ‘ Ah ! Yes, my child,’ says the priest, ‘ but
 You cannot comprehend the loving wisdom of the Father,
 Who has ordained that.’
 ‘ None can say, “ I sleep
 Happy and whole to-night, and so shall wake ? ”
 But if they wake and cannot bear their agonies,
 Or if they will not bear and seek to die,
 Or if they bear and be
 Too weak except for groans, and so still live,
 And growing old, grow old, then what end, dear God ? ’
 ‘ Death, my child.’
 ‘ That is the end that comes to all
 Whose remnants are so petty that the crows
 Caw hungrily, then quit the fruitless feast.
 All once ate, drank, laughed, loved and lived, and liked life well,
 Then comes,—who knows ? some gust of chilly wind,
 A stumble on the path, a taint in the water-tank,
 A snake’s nip, half a span of angry steel,
 A chill, a fish-bone, or a falling brick
 And life is o’er: the man is dead.
 Those whom he loved
 Wail desolate, for even that must go,
 The body, which was lamp unto the life,
 Or, worms will have a horrid feast of it.
 Here is the common destiny of men,
 The high and low, the good and bad must die.’
 ‘ How can it be then, that God,
 Would make a world and make it miserable,
 Since, if all-powerful, if he loves it, and yet leaves it so

He is not good, and if not good and all-powerful
 He is not God ? '
 Aye, my fellow sufferers—
 Know ye not ? There is no God !
 Ho ! ye suffer from yourselves. None else compels,
 None other holds ye that ye live and die !
 Ignorance swells our debts to pay,
 Knowledge delivers and acquits,
 Shun superstition, follow the law ; hold sway
 O'er thyself. That is the way.' "

What sense is there in the following words from a modern Unitarian ?

"Ignoring the various more or less incredible definitions of God given by the different religious sects, let us define Deity as the wise and good Power manifested in nature. This definition, it will be observed, consists of three propositions, viz.—

"1. God is Power.

"2. God is Wisdom.

"3. God is Goodness."

"God is wisdom." In that his supremacy is mythologically, at least, disputed by the Serpent. In the same sense the latter seems to have thus far had the best of the argument. "God is power." "God is goodness." What do those adjectives mean ? What comprehension have we of wisdom, power, or goodness, in this sense intellectual properties, except as human attributes ? Summing up all three of these attributes, and using them intelligently are they not embraced in the word "love" ? But, as we comprehend that verb, what evidence have we in the miseries and dangers of life that such an all-purveyor of love exists ? It may be said that this is a one-sided and altogether too "cold-blooded" manner of looking at things. It may be asked does not God make the trees to grow, the fruits to ripen ? Has he not given us food and raiment ? To which I answer, that that is a baseless assumption, a superstition. Where is the evidence that he has ? Where is the evidence that man, himself, has not gradually appropriated all these things from nature and adapted them to his use ? Nothing was made for man. Man has adapted everything to himself. Man was not made *per fiat act*. No one but an ignoramus or a fool thinks so. Man is a result, a development, even

as evolution itself is. It seems now as if he was a final result, but if evolution be a fact, if the past be true, the perfection possible to man is only indicated in the most advanced among the species. It must be remembered that the stimulus which has forced man to make himself what he is has been the struggle for existence, the necessity to meet and overcome the difficulties of his environment. That environment which has done the most to develop man intellectually has been man himself, the struggle between the individual man and those surrounding him.

To those who ignorantly believe that God "made man in his own image" and then put him on the earth after he had made everything ready for him, I would say, that God's task would have been as hopeless and his abilities as powerless as those of the rich man of to-day who, in his sublime vanity, assumes that he can prepare the road of safety for the comfort and supremacy of his descendants for eternity. It cannot be done. Let such people be instructed, and if they have brains so free from superstition, so free from that reverence for the past, which is the mill-stone hanging on the race to-day and strangling its advancement, that they can think for themselves they will at once learn that the preparations of God or nature, as you will, were originally utterly inadequate to the demands of any such population as man has ignorantly burdened himself with to-day. Let them study the development of our food-vegetation. The natural potato is a poisonous root, so of the parsnip and some other vegetables, and never grew in any such profusion as our necessities require. The wild apple is unfit to eat and so of many other fruits. The grains were not the natural food of man, who originally was a carnivora. As far as the animals are concerned compare the fox-like eo-hippus with any of the useful forms of the horse to-day; the dwarfed wild cattle with the beef and milk-producing breeds; and so on with the sheep, the hog, and even the dog. While man has adapted and slowly made these things conformable to his demands and, so far as it has been done, benefited himself, and is therefore the only example of "goodness" or wisdom that we have, still it cannot be claimed that man as man has

developed to that degree of perfection to be actually "good" to himself. He is still semi-savage. As to "Power," what greater conception can we have of "power" than man himself. He has approximately subdued all the world but himself. When our own Franklin first "caught," as it were, the mystic electric fluid, he laid the foundation of that science with which man will eventually do more to control the forces of nature to his own benefit than any other. Jenner, Pasteur, and Koch, and others, in the line of preventive medicine have done more to protect our race from the ravages of disease than this hypothetical God, even though he be assumed to be the impersonation of wisdom, goodness and power. They have done more to save men from their ignorance than even the immaculate Christ. Where is the manifestation of the wisdom of God? What has he ever taught us? What does a child know? Does not every one of us acquire what we know individually? If God made us in his own image and is all wisdom, we should all be born wise. There should have been no evolution, no advance. The bushman should be as wise as Darwin.

Theologically, the only way out of this slough of inconsistency is to adopt Calvinism.

The Gods have all been men, and the wisest of the Gods have been such great masters as Aristotle, Hippocrates, the Stoics, Galileo, Copernicus, Linnæus, Newton, Harvey, Vesalius, Haller, Agassiz, Gray, Virchow, Bichat, Pasteur, Koch, Huxley, Spencer, Lyle, Müller, Haeckel, Helmholtz, etc., and even the great priests and reformers, like Calvin, Luther, Wilberforce, Parker, Garrison, Phillips, Thomas Paine, Washington, Bismarck and such men. The supreme God thus far in man's history has been Charles Darwin, for no other one man, nor all men unitedly, has done so much to stimulate research and advance knowledge.

"God is power, wisdom and goodness;" in other words, love. Reader, have you ever prayed? Have you ever studied yourself while praying, even though believing with childish reverence that the "religion of my fathers is good enough for me"? Few humans have done that! Few are so born that they can do it. In but few has reverence become developed from a superstition into

that more sublime and rational condition of the intellect which can be called "respect." Thousands assert, superstitiously, that their "prayers have been answered." How many such have that intellectual ability, and beyond that have had that training which enables them logically to trace the connection between cause and effect? The majority have not brains enough to realize that they are self-deceivers. Have you ever been a "sinner" and turned to the "religion of your mother," and prayed as your mother taught you and found strength? Have you gone into your closet and prayed in secret to that Father who, you have been taught, "answers all such prayers"? Doubtless many have. Doubtless some even who read these lines have believed those prayers have been veritably answered. Reader, though you may doubt it, the writer has been through the same experience. The prayers have done good, for even superstition has its place in the evolution of man. But, have you then subjected yourself to a critical mental analysis? Have you picked your emotions to pieces? I have! What did I find? That it was all in and of myself. That "I did it all!" That the "good" in us comes from following our natural instinct to do right, to be "good" if you will. That the good in us is inherited as a characteristic from our parents; that the superstitions bred and educated into us do harm, and were and are a source of weakness, hard to overcome, until the lamp of knowledge is lighted in us by an innate desire to know all we can discover. This "lamp of knowledge," or hunger to know nature, is inbred in us. It is not an acquired post-natal attribute. All we can do is, by diligence, to constantly replenish the lamp with fresh oil dug from the granaries of nature.

I once knew a man, a lawyer by profession—it is to be hoped he may stumble on these lines—a father, a noble, earnest man. I met him in the smoking car of a train, and in the still hours of the night he and I sat up and talked earnestly over these matters so potent with the fate of humanity. Priests may hear the superstitious "confessions" of ignorant devotees, but I doubt if many men ever heard such a confession as I received that night. Like myself that man was a descendant of the iron-clad Puritans. He had been rigidly brought up in the faith of

the Sadducees of Boston. As his father had done before him, he "worshiped" at "Brimstone Corner." His parents had listened at the feet of the elder Beecher, and he had taken his earliest theological milk from the same source. A beautiful girl, who developed into a noble woman and brought up in the same faith, worshiping at the same altar, became this man's wife. Few such people grace this world. The man prospered. Beautiful children were born to them. They moved to Brooklyn. They worshipped with the greater Beecher. They believed as their fathers did after the most strict manner of the faith they had been brought up in. The devoted wife, the loving mother, was "stricken by the hand" of that loving God and died. The man believed. Ah! how that man did believe! Never was there more faith, "no, not in Israel." He "believed in God, in the efficacy of prayer, and that that loving father who gave him that blessed wife would answer his prayers." "Did not, does not Jesus tell us so?" He left his business and gave his attention to God and the stricken one. At that suffering bedside, calling his children around him, he prayed for that life. He called on God, on Jesus, to keep their promises given him in their "holy word." Even when the mother died he prayed, for he believed truly "that God would, that God must, answer such prayers," and restore in her full vitality his beloved. So great was that man's blind faith, that the experiences of the ages, the observations of his own life, were as naught. "Has not God promised to answer such prayers? Did not Jesus call forth the dead Lazarus. Did not Jesus again rise from the dead?" he reasoned to himself in his really sublime but superstitious insanity. He kept that body, like a recluse before a Madonna, until it could be kept no longer. Were his prayers answered? Let the man answer. "There is no God! The Bible and Jesus are liars."

IMMORTALITY.

There are those, and many, who will now say "that that man's faith was all wrong; that that is not what God promises; that that man interpreted the promises incor-

rectly ; that God simply promises to return the dead or unite the dead on earth in heaven ; that it is the souls only which are united in the resurrection."

Pray tell me what is the soul? German psychologists have retained the inexcusable and abominable practices of an antiquated theological period in the expression, "*Seelen Thätigkeiten*" (the activities of the soul), but they have no such idea in their minds and simply mean the intellectual faculties. Where is the soul? Somewhere I have read an Indian legend where a mythological king died and an equally mythological attendant caught the man's soul between his thumbs and carried it away as it escaped from the man's mouth. Then, regretting his act, returned, pressed open the mouth of the dead king, and putting the soul momentarily into his own mouth, blew it into the mouth of the dead king, who immediately revived and became still more of a God among his people. Who believes that "yarn," beautiful as is the legend? Yet, it has as much fact to stand upon as man's belief in the immortality of the soul. No one but a decided ignoramus—and in that class the majority of the world must be at present ranked—believes that there is anything in or of a man except what he receives from his parents. What is that? Material structure and its action according to innate laws! Two decidedly material objects, which can be seen with a microscope, but having possibilities which no man can see, nor microscope reveal, the ovulum and spermatozoa come together, apart they are useless, and a "man-child" develops and is born. In the union of these two objects is comprehended the nucleus or beginning of every element of the body, muscles, bones, blood, lungs, heart, brain, skin, teeth, hair, eyes, etc., and in a certain sense each of these organs have the same structure, in that, in their primary structural sense, they all are derivatives of cells and are made up of cells, and in the earliest stage of the fructification of the ovulum, before the differentiation of the germinal plates, no man can tell one cell from another, a brain cell from a muscle cell, a kidney cell from a liver cell, a spleen cell from a cell that may be the matricial unit for the development of the generative organs, from which either male or female units—cells—may again be developed as the sex may result.

Where in all these cells is the soul situated? So-called "barbarians" have located it in the abdominal cavity, others in the chest, and goodness knows where it has not been located.

Again basing our opinions on the only rational basis, the biological, material structure and action, and knowing that every attribute of any living thing, inclusive of man, is and can only be based on material structure, it must be accepted that every animal, from *Amphioxus lanceolatus* to man, rats, mice, cats, dogs, hens, chickens, mules, horses, elephants, tigers, doves and hawks, must have the same kind of a soul, for their structure is elementarily exactly alike, and so of their manner of development. If man has an immortal soul, so has everything living. If anything can be called "the soul," it must be that known but unperceivable and vital force, life, the energy which lies at the bottom of all material development, and which is part and parcel of and innate to the primary cellular units.

Materialism is wise. It studies material and its actions and knows much about them, but it refuses to speak where it knows nothing. In a practical sense it knows much about living and how it is continued. In a scientific sense it knows nothing about the inner essence of life. Theology, on the contrary, knowing nothing, founded on traditional and antiquated superstition, knows everything. Theology is the only known case of something pretending to emanate from nothing. The insolence of ignorance is superb. All intelligent men know that in death all action ceases so far as that which we call life is concerned. We know that nothing has gone in or out of the person at such a time. Action has simply stopped, in a certain sense from various ascertainable causes, in the most exact sense from an unknown cause. Theology tells us "'the soul' has departed to its Maker." But, where, how, what kind of a thing has departed, it tells us not. Men of common sense and education are not satisfied with that kind of an answer. It is singular that many men who have most decided "common sense" in all business relations have none in this matter. They really are actually indifferent to the whole question. They do not care an iota. They pay their dues in church, and blindly

accept the traditional ignorance and superstitions of their fathers "as good enough for them," and with equal absurdity allow themselves "to be bled," to keep the superstitions hanging around the neck of our race. Between a really intelligent and fairly well educated theologian of to-day and the educated materialist there is but one striking and inseparable difference. The one knows it all and can define it all, by falling back on tradition. The other knows that which he does not know and admits it. The theologian knows all about the Unknown and gives it all the characteristics of an ideal man. These characteristics have changed with the ages. In the days of tribal savagery the Gods were savage. In the days of Calvinistic ignorance they were "holy terrors." In these days they vary from brutes to an indescribable vacuity. In other words, they are Ingersoll's God: "the noblest work of man is a noble God." Once, man made a God of that which he feared most, or gave it those characteristics, and the basely ignorant do the same now. The most refined Christian gives to his God the characteristics of a perfect Motherhood—or that which is his best idea of the exemplification of Love. The theologian has not yet developed to be honest to himself. When that day comes God and theologians will be among the lost traditions. The materialist recognizes the Unknown and says so, but fails to admit the limits of the knowable.

I can form no comprehension of any such immaterial factors which can pass off from the body into eternity and be "clad in dazzling raiment and sit at the feet of God?" "Spirits" have been a troublesome hypothesis so long as we have historic records. This belief in the "immortality of the soul" is simply the result of a "fond wish." If anything demonstrates the futility of life, the mercilessness of God, the accursedness of ignorance, it is this superstition. It is beyond comprehension, out of the limits of reason and with that I leave it. Where knowledge ceases belief ends with intelligent people. There is where faith begins with the unintelligent and uneducated. "Faith" in the theological sense is but transmitted superstition. Most people are still hugging the spokes of the wheel of transmitted superstition for dear life. They have yet to learn that.

"The books teach Darkness was, at first of all,
And God, sole meditating in that Night ;
Look not for God and the Beginning there !
Nor him, nor any light.

"Pray not ! the Darkness will not brighten ! Ask
Naught from God, for he cannot speak !
Vex not your mournful minds with pious pains !
Ah, Brothers, Sisters ! seek

"Naught from a helpless God by prayer and hymn,
Nor trust the priesthood with its myths and wakes ;
Within ourselves deliverance must be sought :
Each one his prison makes.

"Each hath such lordship as the loftiest ones ;
Nay ! for with powers above, below, behind,
As with all flesh and whatsoever lives,
Act maketh joy or woe."

GOD A FETICH.

What is a fetich? The assumption of the actual existence of a thing which in reality has no existence. All reverence, all undue idealization of an actual object, is more or less fetich worship. Romance is fetich. The idealization of husbands by wives, or *vice versa*, in which their attributes are raised to a degree of perfection not at all in conformity with actuality is in that degree fetich worship. The stern realities of experience too often as remorselessly shatter and depose these social "graven images" as the Hottentot knocks over and smashes the stone or stump in which he has momentarily assumed some especial spirit to abide. We are approaching a day of realism, and are slowly beginning to pull the scales of superstition and reverence from our eyes. It is time we looked at ourselves and each other as we are, and not as we wish we or they were. In reality there is no material difference between the reverence of the Hottentot for the supposed spirit in his block of wood and that of the Christian in his worship of the body and blood of Christ in the sacramental bread and wine.

Both are alike bowing down before an object which in reality has no existence. No better illustration of fetichism can be given than in Genesis ii., verse 7: "And

the Lord formed man of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul." There we have the inspiration of an object, "the dust of the ground," with the "breath (spirit) of life." In exactly the same manner a Bushman or Hottentot sets up his wooden or stone fetich and imagines therein the spirit of good or bad, the rain spirit, or what-not genius he thinks necessary to his welfare or to the injury of his enemies. Is it not the same thing exactly as the worship of some image of the Virgin Mary, or the sacrament? Let us be honest with ourselves! There is no sacrilege, no infidelity, in being honest to one's self. There may be heresy towards traditional superstition. The passage quoted from Genesis is, however, worthy of more consideration. As a matter of chronological fact it must be much older than verse 27 of the preceding chapter, where it says, "God created man in his own image," etc. Man had then acquired quite a conquest over nature, and become very much "stuck on himself," as ordinary people say. The previous passage is to my mind one of the most profoundly religious (religion will be defined later on) in the entire literary history of our race. Mistaken though it is in fact, it is also one of the most profoundly philosophical passages. Whoever enunciated it deserves our respect as one of the first scientists of whom we have any record, as one of the world's great thinkers. While I have heard many sermons from that text I have never seen the theologian who could touch the skirts of the garment of truth in that wonderful passage. Let us endeavor to go back to the period when that man lived. It is not difficult. We have all passed through the childhood of the human race in our own brief existence. This man knew nothing of the law of evolution, of bacteria, of fungi, of the ovulum and spermatozoa, of the wonderful processes of foetal evolution, of the formation of the germ-plates and their eventual placement in permanent tissues. He knew nothing of "*omnis ovum ex ovum*" (all life finds its beginning in an egg), nor of that more profound axiom, "*omnis cellula ex cellula*," nor had he heard of the nebula theory; but one thing his keen observation had taught him, and which it is evident he knew fully as well as a

Darwin or a Virchow, and that was that "like begets like." He knew that man begat man, cattle—cattle, fowls—fowls, and like vegetation in the same manner; and one thing more he knew (which we know also, but which troubles us no more because we know it is the end of all things), which is the wonderful part in the legend, and that is that when all these things perished, they disintegrated into dust. Now comes the philosophy of this man, sublime even in its error. How did he know all ended in dust? By observation, by seeing dead bodies, dead trees, dead animals disintegrate, and he saw they all had a common termination; but that which struck him most of all was that man, the creature made "in the image of God," also has the same end. "This cannot be the beginning. There is something wanting here," our investigator must have said to himself. "Even though I know that 'like begets like,' all along the line of life, I also know that 'dust of the ground' cannot beget itself." "That I know because I have never seen it," must have been the next thought. Nevertheless, the idea that "like begets like" could not be removed from his mind. The next trouble was the vitalizing spirit. Then came the fetichism; the assumption of an all-pervading creative spirit capable of vitalizing all living or growing objects. The translator has called it God, "the Lord." Thus "the dust of the ground" became molded into man and the fetich "spirit of life" became God.

Truly the theologians can find something yet to study in the traditions if they can drive superstition from their minds and see through the glass of history clearly and not "darkly" as they do now. The same is true of the most advanced of theological Christians. It is nothing but fetich worship when they believe and sing

"God is wisdom,
God is love."

They worship and reverence an ideal man, a creation of their own disordered or untrained minds which in reality has no existence. It is a singular thing in the development of theology that with the more perfect evolution of the race, and the unevolutional hypothesis of one spirit or God for many, that men and nations began to go into bitter

wars about him. So long as Gods were plenty and could be had at command, the ideas of men were so wanting in concentration, and they were also so busily employed in struggling for themselves individually, they were apparently satisfied with them. But, when one nation, from entirely different causes, began to develop beyond another, then it assumed to itself a special God, and to build temples rich with the offerings of plunder to him. It is a question if the earlier semi-theological wars were not fully as much to rob the temples of the Gods as anything else. The history of the early Catholic Church on this continent proves that to be the case for that body. More actual plunder and rapine have been done in the name of the Christian God than in all the wars of national rivalry since the world has historical record.

CHRISTIANITY.

The number of men and women who now think that "Christianity is going down" is by no means small and constantly increasing day by day. There is the same disagreement as to what Christianity is among the theologians, as there is as to what God is. The majority of them even refuse to accept the written word for it. The world is rebelling against them, and, as Ehrich says,¹ "Jesus is rising," that is, man, or, which is the same thing, humanity itself. The assumption by certain persons, that there are 40,000,000 Christians in this country who were opposed to opening the World's Fair on Sunday, is as groundless as anything can be. Go to the churches and use your own eyes, and then say what percentage of the population is in them? I will venture the assertion that there are not 100,000 people in this United States who can give a philosophical reason why they are Christians that would be accepted in any court in Christendom as legal evidence; or who can give a definition of Christianity, or any other reason why they are Christians, than that their fathers were, and "all good people are." I will go further

¹ Arena, *loc. cit.*

and assert that no two laymen or women, and scarcely any two theologians, can give the same definition of Christianity, though professing the same faith, if asked their own thoughts and restricted from repeating the priest's written creed. They will probably all agree to this: Christianity is a (or the) belief in God the Father and his son Jesus, the Christ. Beyond that it is war, dispute and contradiction. We need not bother ourselves about it, for, like "Kilkenny cats," the creeds are gradually killing each other out, and the truth is sprouting into a growing tree of knowledge above and beyond them. No sane person, nor one not filled to a surfeit with the reverence of ignorance for traditional superstition, and above all no educated person, believes in that mythological tale of the miraculous conception or in that imbecilic narration of the resurrection. Nothing was ever made that way, and the verdict, "to dust shalt thou return," has never yet been changed, nor have the portals of the grave ever opened to the dead, and the same body returned to life.—"Jesus is rising."

JESUSISM.

The writer who, with prophetic wisdom, profoundly proclaimed that "Jesus is rising," correctly diagnosed the grip which the prevailing epidemic of the "brotherhood of man" has upon a certain form of evolutionized society. Unfortunately, however, his diagnosis bears the same character as that too frequently enunciated by the regular physicians who mistake La Grippe for a more fundamental disturbance, or entirely overlook the possibility or existence of dangerous complications. He is not, individually, to blame for this. As with physicians, generally, his reverence for past traditions, and the atavistic in his nature, binds him still with the bonds of traditional superstition, though they have lost their "orthodox" covering. He accepts the Gospels and probably the Epistles *in toto* as the trustworthy "revelation" of what he is pleased to term "Jesus rising." Authoritatively, he accepts them, even as the church does. He does not even select out that which suits him, but accepts all as suitable. He swallows the whole without

any attempt at intellectual digestion. The church performs the first part of the act even as he does. It then changes its anatomic physiological characteristics. Unlike our author, it becomes converted to another persuasion. It joins the ruminants. It selects its own "cuds," and remasticates them to suit the sub-ruminant theological divisions. The rest it casts away as refuse. In the consideration of historic Christianity the analytical "Truth-Seeker" must use his own reason and pass by that of his ancestors. If he studies hard and does this, he will be forced to the following differentiation :

1. Jesusism, which is Communism, and not Christianity at all as the world accepts it.

2. Messiahism, or Christianity, based on traditional Judaism, plus the Gospel and Epistle additions to the same.

3. Theological Christianity, which is a diversified eclectic adaptation of all three according to theological prejudices.

4. Ideal Christianity, or the rationalized Christ. That is, each individual (or community) assumes it sees its own reflection of what it considers an ideal man, or condition, portrayed in the New Testament, utterly regardless of the traditional facts, or the actual words as they would treat them if found in any work of so-called "profane literature." Among this class are those who assume that "Jesus is rising." In this work we shall consider Jesusism, or the Christianity of the Gospels, which we think can be attributed directly to the teachings of Jesus the Nazarene. We shall endeavor to differentiate the man Jesus and his teachings from "Christ the Messiah," and the traditional literature and its influences, though in a cursory manner, leaving the more profound consideration to a later work. What we shall say, however, will stand the test of historical criticism in the future. The differentiation, on a general principle, is not a difficult task, if one approaches the question on an analytical basis, and free from traditional influences. There is but one standard to follow; that is, the utterances directly attributed to Jesus, particularly the celebrated "Sermon on the Mount." Any unbiased student of ethnology in its broadest sense must unhesitatingly admit that, taken on that basis, the Jesus

of the Gospels is a most exclusive communist, and that the Christianity of Jesusism is unadulterated communism, with a most destructive anarchistic tendency. We shall show, what has otherwise been freely enough taught by the Church universal, but without a particle of intelligence however, that the "brotherhood" of Jesus was indeed "the Gospel for the poor:" that it inculcated the demoralizing doctrine, that everything is "God's will, and that 'He' who takes care of the sparrows and lilies of the valley" would provide for his children without the necessity of self-labor.

That Jesus condemned any individual endeavors looking towards taking care of self in his brotherhood, accepting the idea, which many who have since followed him have foolishly accepted, that the "end of the world was nigh at hand;" that he held those who did take care of themselves, the rich and prosperous, up to the ridicule and hatred of the despicable rabble of inability and vice which had attached itself to him, is self-evident to any one who can read words "as they are writ." We shall show that the same spirit of condemnation of natural ability, upholding inability, in the name of its special creator, "God the Father," runs through the Epistles. Whatever has not this communistic, anarchistic tone is not of Jesus, and must be attributed to the influence of the traditional Jewish Messiah who was expected to come. That Jesus' followers, being Jews, may have really imagined that he was "he who should come," and that the idea has had some post-Jesus contagiousness is admitted; as well as that he may have also imagined that he was "The Christ," after having been repeatedly called "Lord, Lord," by his followers. We have innumerable examples of the same thing among the ignorant and superstitious to-day. The "Minister Worship" among our, so-called, "best people," in which they assume their favorite pastor is the especial "called" and "chosen one of the Lord," is but a repetition of traditional superstition. "The Messiah still cometh," even at the end of the nineteenth century. Yes! "he cometh;" but he fails to materialize according to tradition. Jesus is indeed "rising." It will be the final ascension of the Balloon of Christianity! It is at its zenith. The final rent of the lance of cold

facts in the fatal hands of honest and unprejudiced materialism is now in dangerous proximity. The collapse is so threatening, that it may be expected at any moment. It will be gradual, however. It began long ago. The amount of accumulated gas is so immense, that, like a skillful surgeon, materialism must let it out slowly, by repeated and small punctures, so as not to too seriously injure the innocent in the perforated basket underneath. Materialism produces no cataclysms. It is evolutionary. A materialistic revolution is impossible. Its weapons are continual investigation, profound thought. Individual freedom under the laws of the cosmos. Jesusism is anticosmotic.

In my views on this subject I am certain to find far less sympathy than in anything else I may write. Nevertheless, I know I speak the truth, that what I shall say is in the fullest accord with science, evolution and common sense. In considering these questions we must drop all reverence for the past, and sympathy with things because they have done good or may still be beneficial, and, with Thomas Paine, drop all tradition, "go back to nature and think as if we were the first men who ever thought." Those few words should immortalize Paine beyond almost any other thinker. They express most exactly the true method of study, the method of precise observation, probably better than any other man has ever done. Great indeed was Thomas Paine!

Jesusism consists essentially of three hypotheses or assumptions.

1. God the Father.
2. We his children.
3. Love one another, or the communal "Brotherhood of Man." Let it be at once understood that I chiefly differentiate between the Brotherhood of the ideal Church Christianity and that of the Jesus of the Gospels. It is also not an easy task to differentiate between what is Jesusism and what Messialism.

It has been frequently asserted that the idea of "God as a father" was original with Jesus, and while, for the sake of argument, I will admit that stated in that way the idea is surely original in the Gospels, I think any unprejudiced person must admit that such an idea is and was

but the natural outcome, with more enlightenment and equally more national depression, of the Jews' pet hobby that they were the "Chosen children," "the Children of Israel," as they are called, of their special God. It seems to me no other result of their idiosyncratic theology is possible. The same is true of the idea of the Christ as God's special messenger to lead his chosen ones into a more happy condition. Both God and the Christ are fetich. But how about "the Father"? That is fetich too; an incomprehensible idea; a superstition which has worked incalculable injury to the world; however much comfort individual weakness may have drawn from it. It is fetich because not true. A baseless assumption localized in the great nowhere. The Jove of the earlier days of the chosen people exactly corresponded to their then condition and aspirations. From a tribe of slaves they started out on a warlike tour of conquest and subjection. They needed a war-leader. They made him. Jove was such. But, when the surrounding world organized against them, when the glory of the House of David began to set behind the horizon of hope, and their local supremacy finally yielded entirely to that of Rome, they became despondent. They no longer sought an earthly leader. Their hope was buried in the tomb of David. Their glory had departed to be only a fond dream. A memory to be hugged as a delusion only for the future. Jove had deserted them. They needed a comforter. Jove the spirit warrior changed to God the Father who would watch over his children. This was supported by the tradition that the glory of the House of David should come again which naturally ended in the "only begotten Son of the Father," who was to be of the House of David, coming to lead them—where? Earthly success seemed impossible. That all the glory of Israel should be gone forever could not be; hence, their record was to be in an immortal glory in the home of that Father, and not on earth. The rest was easy to manufacture. Ancient history is full of the traditions of similar fetich reverence and superstitious hopes which have never been fulfilled. No man, no nation, has ever succeeded in anything when it got beyond the period that it depended on its own exertions. It is singular that the strong have made the

Gods. The poor only have depended on them. The Gods have all been gross self-deceptions. This "God the Father" hypothesis has indeed been a bad and malicious God. So long as he was single and controlled by the Roman hierarchy he did no great harm except to people worshipping other Gods. But being a fetich, being in reality a tradition and not a fact, man soon began to be doubtful as to his attributes, and disputes arose as to this and that, causing divisions in the church. So long as these divisions were more or less individual and unorganized they were correspondingly of easy subjugation by the church, but when each peculiar interpretation of "the father" began to crystallize around a center and grow by collective adhesions, the churches developed, which unitedly were too much even for Rome and the superstitious Royalty, which had been dependent on her; for Rome once made and unmade kings as the vice-gerent of God. Then came the Babel-like tower of the disputing theologies, now crumbling to pieces. But the safety of humanity and its peace and comfort have for a long time been dependent on the confusion among the theological pillars which still support the tower. Were there but one central pillar, as of old, and that the center of theological despotism, and "primarily devoted to the Glory of God," we should still see the "trail of suffering, of tortures and of blood" polluting the surface of the earth. Free expression of thought would be suppressed. The strength of the truth lies in the discord of the theologies. That the fatherhood of God is a traditional fetich, bearing no correspondence to the real qualities of an ideal father or the actual father of a family, has been previously shown. Nothing but the superstition of profound ignorance could or can possibly lead any person to believe in any such supreme nonsense. Practical experience in endeavors to ease the miseries of humanity has shown me time and again that it is one of the most demoralizing influences with which we have to deal. It kills that self-reliance on which self-preservation depends. It is absolutely contradictory to nature. It finds no support in evolution. That savage and indomitable law "the survival of the fittest," contradicts it at every point. The law, of adap-

tation to environment, by which evolution has been worked out, shows its fetich-like and deceptive character. The miseries of the human race, disease, death, all and in all demonstrate its utter absurdity. Let me quote one of many actual cases which have come to my personal knowledge which illustrates its terribly demoralizing and disorganizing effects. A girl beautiful to look upon, but with very little individualism, and a Madonna-like face, and a character which under more favorable conditions would have been pronounced ideally Christian, and was really so considered, married a man who imagined he loved, but afterwards deserted her, leaving her with two children. Suffering and privation followed.

In the same city lives a woman illustrating another phase in intellectual evolution. A woman struggling in the stormy sea of Common-sense tossed by the waves of traditional superstition. In other words, a brave strong woman, a fighter for her rights, a fighter for other women; limited only by a strong reverence for things once held sacred from seeing the true "light of the world"; common-sensed in all things save her theological superstition. This woman is a great friend of the writer, and is only pained at her vain endeavors to "bring him back into the fold" of superstition and traditional darkness. Meeting her casually one day during her trips among the poor and needy, she said, in her abrupt way, "Jump into the coupé with me. I want to show you a case of Christian faith which I am sure will convince you." During the ride she told me the details of the story above related, of the squalor and misery in which she had found "her saint"; of "her great Christian faith," which found constant expression in the words, "I knew the Lord would provide for us." I immediately confused my good friend by quoting that peculiarly illogical and inconsistent remark of Christians, "The Lord helps those who help themselves," which at once admits the absolute impotency of the Lord, and the fallacy of any dependence on him, though it is a true and sharp expression of a natural fact. There human nature rises above its own theological and traditional superstition and speaks the truth in spite of itself. However, my friend soon collected herself and said, "Wait and

see when we come to the house." She had removed the woman to a nice flat in a respectable neighborhood, furnished it, clad her and the children, and interested friends to send her work. On entering, 11 A.M., the good Christian was sitting neatly dressed in a rocking-chair, with two children in their night-gowns, unwashed, around the room and a general untidiness prevailing. The saint was reading the Episcopal prayer-book! On greeting her, Mrs. — asked, "Well, did you finish those children's dresses last evening?" The answer, in the sweetest of drawls, was, "No, we went to the mission last evening." After some conversation between the women, I said to the sufferer,—she was bloomingly healthy,—“You ought to be very thankful that Mrs. — found you and has helped you so much. “Oh, sir, I knew the Lord would provide for us,” was the answer. I thought I did not blame the husband so much after all, for certainly his Madonna never provided a good meal or a cleanly home for him. To shorten: we left, and I told my friend my exact opinion of her indolent saint. I met her again two weeks later (not the saint, but the worldly energetic woman), and she said, “Confound that woman! she has about convinced me you are right. All she can do is to pray and weep, and I am just discouraged; she is so beautiful and sweet I do want to help her, but it's no use; what shall I do?” I admitted I was also at my “wits' end,” but suggested putting the children in some home, and getting the saint a position to read the Bible and prayer-book to dying sinners in some hospital as the only road to salvation for my friend. Whether she acted on the suggestion or not I do not know, as I have not seen her since, but every practical helper of human misery knows that the above is one of the evil results of the “Fatherhood of God,” and no uncommon one either. It kills self-dependence and detracts from the truth. If, instead of it, we preached, from babyhood up, that self-reliance is the only road to material salvation, and left the traditional to take care of itself, we should not have so many elegant misera-
bles in the world.

EVOLUTION AND GOSPEL CHRISTIANITY.

Is Christianity Evolution? Professor Drummond, in his late Boston lectures, says :¹

"Christianity and evolution, cannot be reconciled, because they are one and the same thing. What is evolution? It is a process. What is its object? To make more perfect human beings. What is Christianity? A process. What is its object? To make more perfect human beings. Christianity took all the natural foundations and added the finishing touches. There is nothing in Christianity that has not a germ in nature, and no man can follow up evolution and not come to Christianity. Christianity is the further evolution. It is a self-sacrificing love, seen in nature first in the division of the cell, whereby each part is better able to get food. This division is the self-sacrifice of the individual."

Such reasoning as the above is so illogical and so teleological as to be a disgrace to intellectual evolution. Natural evolution is a series of purposeless results following the action of material laws. Is that Christianity? Man has "perfected" himself because he had to. The "Brotherhood of man" has played the rôle it has because it appeared to be a self-protective necessity. In that way, and that way only, does Christianity have any relation to evolution. Human perfection is not even intentional with man, as a natural phenomenon. It has been so as a superstition. The last part of this quotation is absolute and supreme nonsense. All proliferation is the result of the law of self-protection, as will be shown elsewhere. There is no self-sacrifice in it. To repeat: Evolution is not a process. It is a series of conditions lapsing more or less, or continuing into one another through unlimited (to our knowledge) ages, and due to a series of processes of most variable nature. Evolution is a fact and not a theory. The theories of evolution are our endeavor to explain how its phenomena, facts, have occurred. Evolution is, again, the reaction of morphological living material to its surrounding environment. It is the development from primary and simple conditions to the complex ones by which we are surrounded. It has not been

¹ Newspaper clipping.

steady in all places and at all times. Numerous cataclysms have taken place. It expresses a general result only. The impulse to it has been the self-protection necessary to overcome an ever augmentingly severe environment. Man will continue to advance intellectually and morally just so long as his endeavors to overcome his environment are self-protective. When the environment becomes persistently and discouragingly resistant he will retrograde, and if our reading of nature be true, eventually in the dim by and by, die out, unless he acquires sense and courage enough to stop breeding and kill himself off before that time arrives.

That environment is not necessarily the stimulus for good is shown by the fact that both individuals and nations succumb to an environment their energies are unequal to. For all living things the environment most obstructive to their energies is not, except in localities out of which many cannot move,—what we call inanimate nature, but the living environment and most frequently the individuals of their own species. This is especially true of the human race. The once glorious Babylons are no more. Jerusalem is a wreck; Greece and Rome, Egypt and ancient India, have sunk in their glory, through this struggle with an adverse human environment. Because man there lost his energy even nature has returned to a condition unfavorable to the best advancement of the inhabitants. Men especially and even animals have the ability to migrate from unfavorable to more favorable natural environments. We see that in the migrations of wild horses and other animals. It is strikingly illustrated in the settlement of this country. But all through we see the severe illustration of the survival of the fittest only in the vicissitudes of a severe environment. Do not forget that in so-called civilized countries the severest environment is man himself. The fetich of the “fatherhood of God” leads to the production of thousands on thousands totally unfit to survive in the struggle which are supported by those other fetiches, “the Brotherhood of Man” and the “Immortality of the Soul.” Christianity may be a process. It is surely a traditional superstition; it may be a step in evolution, and probably is, but is not in accordance with the true course that has thus far taken

place in evolution, if we accept Professor Drummond's idea that evolution is ever onward and upward. It is retrograding now. As Ehrich well says, "Christianity is going down!"¹ On the other hand, if it is true that there are retrograde or disintegrating movements (Involution) in Evolution, Christianity is simply an exemplification of such. It has played its part. It was of man, and man drops all useless or encumbering things of his own creation as soon as he becomes aware of the fact. It occupies a marked place on the road from traditional and superstitious ignorance to the land where blooms the unrestricted tree of knowledge. It has become a barrier to the advancement of the race. Commerce, human intercourse and the gradual discovery of the fact that all savagery, all factors supporting crude or inciting brutal individualism, are at enmity with individual self-protection in the best sense, have been the greatest forces in the better or more humanizing development of the race; in other words, mutual self-interest, and the fact that that is better preserved by mutual and kindly intercourse than any other factor known to man. The more it becomes evident that individuals and nations are mutually dependent on one another for self-protection and comfort, the more rapidly will savagery, crude individualism, disappear from among men. Taken as a whole, then, while Christianity must be considered in connection with evolution, I think it evident that it can be no longer considered a useful factor. The very fact that its essentials have been and still are constantly in dispute and causing hatred and discord proves this. When thinking men admit that "Jesus is rising higher and higher," they simply mean that Christianity is crumbling to pieces and that man himself is rising above traditional superstition. The Jesusism of such men, so strongly represented by the general communications in the "Arena" is

"THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN."

To dispute or attack that idea as another fetich, a traditional superstition, as absolutely unevolutional, as

¹ *Arena*, *loc. cit.*

unnatural, as, in fact, in the way of human progress, is to face the verdict of having one's sanity brought in question. Nevertheless, the truth, as I see it, drives me on even if the road lead to social destruction. It must be admitted that no more beautiful and ideally enchanting sentiment, taken by itself, has ever been promulgated. But sentiment is often a very dangerous stimulus to follow. It may be defined as the immediate shock which certain phenomena give to the intellect. It may as often lead to what is called wrong as right if immediately acted on. It is simply the first irritation, the effect of which should be to call mature reflection into action in all educated beings. The "brotherhood" sentiment cannot, however, be a fact, for it is contradicted entirely in the absence of God the Father. The one is the necessary corollary of the others. If the one is a fetich the other must be. All nature contradicts it. Individualism shows it to be a mere superstition. The struggle for existence denies it. Ignorance and superstition alone keep it alive. The history of human evolution shows its actual absurdity. Nevertheless, it has done, and is still doing, some good. Error of conception is by no means always followed by equally evil results. On the other hand, it is doing much evil which will continually increase. Let us see if this brotherhood idea is not also a fetich, a superstition, a hypothetical something which in reality has no existence? Does the gospel Jesus in reality teach universal "brotherly" love as is now being assumed by his self-constituted followers? On the contrary does he not teach the most limited communism? Was not the "love one another" which he inculcated limited to his peculiar followers only? The clever author of "The Ancient Lowly" endeavors to show that the gospel Jesus led what he pleases to call a labor uprising. While I would not give to the Galilean movement that dignity and look on it more as one of those fanatical theological crazes of which we have occasional experiences to-day, still there is no doubt that it acquired such extent as to arouse the nervous and jealous alarm of the Roman governor, and found no sympathy with the prosperous class of Jews, who, it is self-evident, desired to "stand in" with their

conquerors, as is always the case with that class, and naturally, for it is the only way open for the conquered to save themselves. It may be truer, that Pilate killed Jesus—if he did—merely to please the respectable Jews who looked on him somewhat as we do anarchists, and rightly. Now, if that Jesus did really inculcate the principles of universal “love one another” which are ascribed to him, we ought not to find any evidence to the contrary in what are accepted as reliable reports by his followers. On the contrary, do we not find the strongest evidence that that Jesus uttered the most bitter denunciations, seasoned with anything but brotherly love against all the prosperous classes in his own nation? Do we not find him extremely careful not to excite the jealousy of the foreign government? Does he not caution his followers on the necessity of paying taxes and rendering “unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar’s”? The Chicago anarchists were hung, but I defy any modern judge, any theologian, to find any more, or as bitter, invective in their words, any such revolutionary language, as that credited to this Jesus when speaking of the fortunate Jewish classes outside of his own people. “Scribes, Pharisees, Hypocrites,” are the “loving” names he applies to them. Let us change the words and apply them to the rich men, the same class, in the Christian world of to-day.

“Woe unto you, Priests, Lawyers, Bankers, Hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men, for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in.

“Woe unto you, Priests, Lawyers, Bankers, Hypocrites! for ye devour widows’ homes, and for a pretense make long prayers, therefore you shall receive the greater damnation.” (Did the Chicago anarchists utter any more dangerous sentences than the above?)

“Woe unto you, Priests, Lawyers, Bankers, Hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of Hell than yourselves.”

Suppose any man to-day should go out on the street corners of any city in Christendom and continually howl forth such terrible denunciations of the prosperous classes

as the above, how long would it be permitted? And yet Jesus is reported to have done it, and, strange to say, the majority of the above class and two-thirds of the people not only believe he did it, but blindly assert that he taught universal "brotherly love" in doing so.

If that is not worshipping and following a fetich I must say that I do not know what is. It will probably be admitted that the writer has the command of rather strong language, but he admits his inability to equal the above even in the denunciation of the most atrocious villainy. The man who would publicly utter such language to-day and collect a following about him would be surely incarcerated, if not incinerated. If there ever was an anarchist on earth the gospel Jesus was one. Like the misled anarchists of to-day, he taught "brotherly love" within the "commune," and the most intense hatred of all those outside of it who enjoyed prosperity. But—and do not lose this point—this gospel Jesus was a coward in comparison to the anarchists in Chicago. They defied all government; they would do away with all government as a useless and embarrassing encumbrance. They would not even pay taxes to Cæsar? They were bold, earnest, yet mistaken men. They were willing to die for what they termed "their principles," and did. But this Jesus was entirely wanting in the one great characteristic which makes a man. He lacked "courage." He would create hatred and do all he could to the injury of his more fortunate countrymen, but he would save his own neck and those of his followers by "paying tithes to Cæsar." If that is "brotherly love," then I admit my inability to comprehend the practical meaning of that most expressive of all verbs—"to love."

How sane and educated people can follow this fetich of the gospels in this day and generation is to me incomprehensible? The teachings of that Jesus are so contrary to nature that, if followed out, the human race would know nothing but misery and squalor universal. Success would be impossible. How collected and strong business men can go to church and calmly listen to themselves being "damned to perdition," as it were, and only saved by theological legerdemain is to me a mystery. Did that

Jesus teach "love one another," or destruction of property, when he endeavored to incite his followers against riches, if not their possessors, by telling the rich, "Verily, I say unto you that a rich man shall hardly enter the kingdom of Heaven." "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of Hell?" (that was said of the "Scribes, Pharisees, Hypocrites," but they were the rich countrymen of Jesus at that time). "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God." "Woe unto you who are rich, for ye have received your consolation."

Heaps of "brotherly love" in that language, is there not? Does any level-headed man believe that stuff? See the terrible work of reverence for "what was good enough for mother and father is good enough for me!" See the degrading influence of reverence for traditional superstition! The strong among us bow down in worship before such a fetich. There is some sense in reverence for a golden calf, but none for a "lamb," of this sort. We have fetich-worshiping Hottentots still with us. Verily! the African specimen is the most to be respected. He, at least, is honest. The schooled (it is hard to find the right word: intelligent or educated will not do) Christian is in reality worse than the hypocrites so classically described in the gospels. He is an infidel of infidels. He denies his own reason—if he has any? The question is, Has he? Which one of them would follow Jesus' advice to the rich young man, "Go sell that thou hast and give to the poor"? Any man who did that to-day would be called "a fool." The writer has done so and been called "a fool" for doing it. In fact, both men and women have had guardians appointed by the courts, or been placed in asylums, for practicing that same precept. The Hon. Mr. Hawley, of Connecticut, asserted that there are 40,000,000 Christians in this country who wanted the World's Fair to be closed on Sunday! Put them to the above test, unless they are insane, and I will venture that there is not a Christian in the United States, and place Senator Hawley as the king heretic of the lot. Test the people of the United States, or any other Christian country, by the teachings of Jesus, in the same manner we would as to

their sanity on any other subject, and I assert that there is not a Christian on earth, unless he be a fool. Jesusism contradicts the law of self-preservation. It is a fetich. It is beneath any idolatry of the uncivilized people, because proclaimed by people claiming to be intelligent and contradicted by their actions of necessity. When the gospel Jesus told the rich young man to "sell all he had and give to the poor," he undoubtedly had the necessities of himself and his followers in his mind, utterly regardless of the welfare of the young man. Schweinfurth, the Farmers' Alliance Socialist, and other such frauds are the literal and direct products of this gospel Jesus. They try to play the same tricks, and often succeed on rich "fool" converts. The "young man" of the gospel had more sense. He turned away and saved his money.

That the Gospels do teach hatred of the rich, and make assertions which the poor and unfortunate as well as the discontented can use in support of anarchistic ideas; that the teachings of Jesus did have such an effect on the earlier Christians, is easily to be seen in the following quotations from the Epistle of James :

"Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be witnesses against you, and shall eat your flesh as if it were fire. Ye have heaped treasures together for the last days. Behold, the hire of the laborers who have reaped your fields, which you have kept back by fraud."

It is to me a most singular phenomenon that while all intelligent people condemn such utterances as revolutionary and destructive when coming from the lips of a Johann Most or Lucy Parsons, that they unintelligently accept them as divinely true, as "inspired," when found in the Bible. These words are not traditional. That they were spoken or written and were the opinion of the early Christians there is no doubt. That they show that that movement was communistic, and generated hatred for those about them who were more prosperous is self-evident. It is also self-evident that anarchy and communism find as strong support in the teachings of the

Gospel Jesus as in the columns of the "Freiheit" or any such revolutionary sheet of to-day.

"LOVE ONE ANOTHER." A FETICH.

Let us look at this question in a physiological sense! To do so we must turn our intellect most directly on itself, and at once plunge into the sea of traditional superstition. Let me say that the expression "greater love hath no man for another, than that he give his life for his friend" is a pure sentimental fetich. The real fact is this, the most sublime insanity is that peculiar unnatural devotion which finds its indulgence in giving one's life for others regardless of self. That most profound of natural loves, Motherhood in ideal perfection, is that self-love which has become gradually sublimated from the maternal instinct. No wife, no husband, no child, loves intelligently, simply because they have never stopped to think that like the darkey songster in all reality after loving everything else,

"They love themselves the best."

All this "love" business is fetich because it unintelligently places the love in the object loved, instead of the object from which it emanates. "Mutnal love" is simply the fact that two persons find an equal satisfaction of their self-love in each other. It is like two electric discharges from two opposing batteries, one against the other. When the shocks unite, they double the power.

Of this subject more will be said in discussing the question of marriage. Suffice it now to emphasize the fact that all love is of self, and from self, and for self. What we call selfishness is only that form of self-love which is not of any advantage to anybody else. The highest virtue, the most noble devotion, in the most æsthetical or ethical sense, is simply that refinement of human perfection which is in reality that self-love which only finds gratification in devotion to others directly, or some object the accomplishment of which promises to produce a general benefit to the human race. The ignorance of the race has caused it to kill most of its Saviours. Even in this

Christian country, the men who are striving to do the most for their kind can find nothing but persecution and no place to lay their heads. Americans really have not intelligence enough to love themselves intelligently.

The fetiches "immortality of the Soul" and "God the Father," ruling in some traditional nowhere, have led to that fetich "self-love" which finds its expression in the modern and practical application of the "brotherhood of man." It can be expressed in this way: "Be kind and charitable and love one another on earth, that your account may be balanced on the books of the 'recording angel,' when your soul arrives before Peter at the immortal gates, and the Father shall welcome it with 'Well done, good and faithful servant.' That is not 'love the other fellow.' That is a system of post-mortal self-love of the all-for-self sort."

That is good Unitarianism. It is called "philanthropy." It is all fetich! It is all fetich, because not a word or sentiment of it is in correspondence with natural facts. It is even "fetich" in those highly evolved ones who have dropped all of the theological traditional superstition and discarded God, the Christ, the Soul and immortality, but who have still retained that last vestige of traditional fetichism, the "brotherhood of man," and are desperately trying to "love one another." These are the ones who admit that "Christianity is going down," but still cling to the fetich that "Jesus is rising higher and higher." I will pay my respects to that class of thinkers again, but wish to give a little more attention to those who believe in fixing up their accounts in "nowhere" by doing for the poor and unfortunate here on earth. It is the motive I am after, and not the act. Under existing conditions it is well that we have this fetich among us, for unless we did, it would not be very safe living on this mundane sphere. In many respects, however, it is a cowardly superstition, this "giving to the Lord" in order to get a mortgage on his supposed good-will, or to bribe him, and thus secure a foreclosure on immortality. With the majority of rich men, this "giving in charity" is an odd mixture of vanity, to be seen of men, and cowardly and superstitious fear. The vanity is the child of the superstition. The poor can be thankful. They "fear the Lord will

not let them in," and as the Roman pays for masses to get the departed soul in, they give "in charity" to "fix it" with the Lord, as they do to the porter of a Pullman-sleeper, to fix the conductor, or build or endow some hospital, church or school, in order to keep their names before the people, fully conscious that no other act of theirs will survive their burial and the settlement of their estate. The first is the cowardice of superstition. The second, that of vanity. The one is a superstitious regard for the fetich of ignorance, the other for the fetich of egotism. The only fact in the whole parody on nature is that it is a semi-savage indulgence of self-love. Behind all this fetich worship, beneath all this traditional superstition, is a natural fact, the law or principle of self-preservation, The superstition hiding it from self-appreciation is the belief in God and immortality. The "good" is done in order to have the road clear for a supposed supra or extra natural conception for which no educated and free intelligence can find a particle of evidence in all natural phenomena. Hence, the whole thing is a fetich. Reverence for an assumed thing which in reality has no existence. Before going further it may be well that I make my position plain as to

THE CHURCH.

The Church Universal is a fetich, and each individual church is as much a duplication or multiplication of fetich spirits as the numerous fetiches of the Hottentot or Bushman. The church spire points upward; the finger of the images and painting of the saints points upward; the worshipper looks upward! Why? Simply because there is space, or unobstructing ether above us, and the solid earth, with its centre full of cavities and molten fluid beneath. For this and no other reason is the heaven of God and the abode of the immortal Soul placed upwards "beyond the skies." Is that not fetich? Does it not contradict the word which says "God is everywhere." "The heavens declare his glory, the firmament showeth his handiwork." Then why may not heaven be in the depths of the earth as well as "in the blue ethereal space"? Why is hell put beneath us and

likened to the heated lava and hot cinders of the volcano? According to the Scriptures, God is as likely to be there as anywhere. Is it not simply because that from practical experience we place what we term goodness as above evil in value to society? Then, if the good are superior in value (to us) they must go up, and the bad, if ill to us, must go down, into hell. Good reasoning enough and logical enough as illustrating our condemnation of evil and appreciation of good to us, but beyond that it is all fetich. An idea without a natural fact to support it, a traditional superstition contradicted by "the word" itself, which abundantly declareth that "God is everywhere." "Even though I make my bed in hell, thou art there."

Many who may read this book will doubtless say that the writer is a "bigot." That I deny. "A bigot" is one who refuses absolutely to see good in the opinions of others. That is not my position. I am earnestly seeking the truth. Then I am a "fanatic." True! "A crank!" Yes! But what is a "fanatic"? Is he not simply one who is in dead earnest in his endeavor to carry out an idea, or defend an opinion? If that opinion is based on good and sufficient reasons and those reasons are founded on natural facts, then no one should be classed as a bigot. It is true that theology is based on a natural fact, but it refuses to rely on that fact for its support, though almost unconsciously it draws much so-called inspiration from nature. That fact is, cause in nature. Of that later on. On the contrary, theology relies for its support on superannuated and unnatural tradition, for which it demands superstitious reverence. The Bible is its record of sacred tradition. It refuses to exercise reason based on actual knowledge in its consideration of the record. It applies the name of heretic or infidel to every man who exercises his only "divine right" and uses his own reason instead of imbecilically accepting ancient traditions on no other grounds than that "they have been good enough for father and mother and the world before us, therefore they are good enough for us." It denies the right to every man to exercise the one faculty on which self-protection depends, and which it allows him to use freely in every other direction. It is

shocking to common sense to see otherwise well-educated and seemingly intelligent men bow down to this fetich of superstitious-traditional authority. It is with wisdom, on its part, that the Roman Church so strongly forbids its blind adherents to interpret the Bible themselves. The "orthodox" churches are in reality no better. They take a different method, that is all. The Inquisition still exists. The actual fagots and fire only are wanting. Proof? The Briggs trial! The social fagots still supply the material of ostracism wherever orthodoxy can stir up the necessary ignorance. Infidels are still metaphorically burnt in our churches and homes. Social ostracism is still the punishment of the man who dares speak as he thinks, if he thinks different than the masses. Thankfully, even ignorance itself has largely lost its venomous sting in indifference. Ignorance and its traditional agent, the church, are fast losing their grip before the advancing development of the tree of knowledge. "All things are possible with God," says the church, the moment it is brought face to face with a fact absolutely contradicting every tradition of traditional theology. It is wonderful that a man or woman with any claims to education can be found to believe in such unnatural traditions as the immaculate conception or the resurrection of the Christ. When called in question the only answer they can give is, "Why, God says it; it is in the Bible"—and the theologian supports them in it. The Roman Church has the most logic and common sense. It allows its people to read the Bible (why they should object to the King James' edition is more than I can see), but tells them they must only read the words, and allow the church to tell them what they mean. That is making idiots out of people. Theology is in reality a "Punch and Judy" show. The orthodox church tells the people it can read also, but that they must believe every word from Genesis to Revelation. "The word of God cannot lie," says the Presbyterian conference. It utterly ignores the most exact and plainly evident facts of scientific investigation, and says "so much the worse for them" unless they correspond with the traditional word. That is fetich worship. When asked to explain contradictions in the traditional though "written word," it points

to the "word" and shouts, "heretic, infidel." Let us take them at their word in only one or two instances. In Genesis i. 27-28, "the Word" says: "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him, male and female created he them." "And God blessed them and said unto them, be fruitful, multiply and replenish the earth." In the first place that is scientifically and unequivocally false. Man is a development, and in the earlier stages of development was a bi-sexed, or hermaphroditic organism, as is proven by every foetus passing through that condition in all the mammalia. But, from the theologian's standpoint, everything in the Bible occurred exactly in the chronological order it is printed. That being so, then man and woman were both created at one and the same time, and both were made "in the image of God." (The women should take some comfort in that fact, which the theologians seem to have successfully kept from them thus far.)

In Genesis, ii. 7, God takes quite a complicated course to make man, but this time he only makes the male animal. "And the Lord formed man out of the dust of the ground." "And the Lord took the man and put him in the Garden of Eden" (ii. 15), and though the Lord had already, according to the previous record, at one stroke, *made them male and female*, the same "infallible word" now tells us that the Lord said, "it is not good that man should be alone." Next the Lord becomes a surgeon of the most highly accepted modern type (the first on record), he hypnotized Adam, "and caused a deep sleep to fall" on him, and he (the Lord) "took one of his ribs and closed up the flesh instead thereof." "And the rib which the Lord had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man."

Here are two decidedly contradictory "yarns." But what is of more importance to woman is, that when "the Lord" made man and woman at once, he immediately commanded them to "multiply and replenish the earth" (which according to practical experience would be the first thing they would try to, there being fortunately no prude like Rev. Dr. Parkhurst around at that time), but in the second creation no such command was given, and the "Devil" got into the woman and caused her to lead

the poor, weak man astray, to do the very thing the Lord had already commanded them both to do in the first creation. Theologians have mistakenly caused women to suffer ever since history began for thus obeying the Lord's first command. Why he contradicted himself and told her not to eat apples in the second instance is not clear.

Seemingly intelligent men and women accept this stuff of traditional theology as true. If that is not worshipping a fetich I do not know what is. Were that the best we can say of the church, inclusive of the theologians, it would be best to advocate its immediate suppression. But the church has done good and is still doing good. Though the result of, founded on and dedicated to fetich worship, the church is of man (not God), created by him for his own good. That is why it has been, and is still, beneficial to man. The history of the church, going back to its real beginning, is the history of the evolution of the intelligence of man from the simplicity of ignorance and a fetich for everything (unevolutional) to the complex profundity of the highest knowledge of to-day (evolutional) and the gradual disappearance of all fetichgerms in that indescribable and fast disappearing reflection of an ideal woman, "God is love" (unevolutional). In other words, every idiosyncrasy of theology around which human intelligence has temporarily crystallized, beginning with the church having the most fetiches, the Roman with its Pope, Saints, Relics, etc., to the most advanced Unitarian, represents the advancement of the human mind from gross ignorance and blind superstition to that intelligence which finally finds itself free from tradition, free from superstition, without a fetich or God, the sacred book of which is that of nature itself. Science is the reading of the book. Every church meets a human necessity. Every church is a safety-valve which prevents ignorance from becoming dangerous. There is but one way to suppress ignorance. When vicious, chain it. When not actually dangerous, confine it by the chains of superstition in the hands of a clever priesthood. The Roman clergy generally know this. The Protestants will not admit it. The fires of a traditional hell are still necessary and a vicarious priesthood still valuable to keep ignorance within the bounds of comfort to the body

politic. As intelligence increases it itself shuts the flues and banks the fires of its previous ignorance until they are replaced by the fruit-bringing rays of the Sun of Knowledge. It is quite the thing among a certain class of ignorant alarmists to "howl," at present, against the encroaching dangers of the Roman Church. No "free-thinker" who is acquainted with the evolution of man gives a moment's thought to such an idea. The activity of the Roman Church, strong as it outwardly looks, is the best evidence of its self-conscious weakness, and the howls of orthodoxy equally tell the inroads which the free education of the dailies and better class of periodicals, and science in particular, are making on their fetiches. It will take centuries, but among the most advanced of the Caucasian races, the fetich God and the whole paraphernalia of theological and traditional superstition is as certainly doomed to oblivion as that the sun rises and sets in its daily course and each passing day is marked by the addition of some germ of truth to the tree of knowledge by some diligent, scientific and non-fetich reverencing investigator. In that mutual battle-field which the churches are waging in their discouraging struggle for survival, the tree of exact science is quietly and peacefully sending out its rootlets in every direction. The church is a coward. Science is free and fears neither church nor fetich, be its "Bull's head" branded Roman or Presbyterian, Baptist or Unitarian. The creature is chained and will never break loose again. Its bellowings indicate the "death-rattle." Its wind is broken. It gasps only.

Man may still wage wars for dollars, but the last fight in the cause of the fetich-God has been waged among the so-called civilized nations. Give the churches the freest field. The only danger to humanity existed when one overpowered the others. Before the existing Babel of theological discord the tower of God is crumbling to pieces. Fetich-worship finds its final end in Jesusism. All the advocates of untrammelled observation, thought and expression need do is to keep at work. The whole parched and dried-up intelligence of the world is stretching out its aching arms for the waters of truth. Let us be diligent in season and out. Social inquisition is still

somewhat at the command of the church, but there are enough of us now, men and women, to make a very select company. The "top" is no longer so vacant as to be lonely. The peak of the mountain of Evolution blooms with the ripest and richest fruits of human development.

RELIGION—WHAT IS IT?

DOUBT IS THE KEY TO VERITY.

"RELIGION is essential to humanity. It is not a something or a somewhat external to man which has been imposed on him by priest or hierarch here or anywhere. It is not a fungus growth that does not belong to his nature. The power, the baneful power of superstition lies in the very fact that man is religious, and that his religious nature, inherent in him, has been too often played upon for base or selfish purposes. But this does not countervail the truth that religion itself is an essential and integral part of man's nature. Religion is the mother of all religions, not the child."

Such were the words spoken by the Rev. Lyman Abbott at the "World's Parliament" at Chicago. In everything but the last sentence, I fully agree with the Brooklyn preacher, and think that even he would accept my amendment, that "religion is the mother of all the theologies, not the child." Further than that, it is to be expected the reverend doctor would be like the woman who had inscribed on her husband's gravestone, "I followed you faithfully thus far, but the Lord only knows whether I want to follow you farther or not."

The Rev. Mr. Savage says: "Materialism, atheism, is out of court." Mr. Savage will find that materialism is still about the liveliest corpse that ignorance, as represented by theology, ever had anything to do with. Mr. Savage certainly has no acquaintance with the genius of undefiled materialism. The word "genius" is used with intent, spirits being something so abhorrent to the writer's nature that it is impossible to comprehend that anything but the worst, the most destructible and evil influences can be apprehended from them. Materialism is the positivism of knowledge. Atheism is the negation of ignorance, only excelled in absurdity by theology or the discord of uncertainty. At the "World's Parlia-

¹ "The Irrepressible Conflict."

ment" of theologians the Right. Rev. Mr. Keane said: "Cicero has truly said that there never was a race of atheists. Cesare Bibba has noted with equal truth that there never has been a race of deists." With equally unanswerable logic, Plato, Buddha, Confucius, might have said, "There never has been a race of Christians; ergo, there never will be." Had they thus spoken, they would have uttered a prophetic truth. There is no race of Christians to-day. There is not a universal Christian nation. One might as well say "that there never has been a race of Bishop Keanes." Judging only from the tenor of his utterances at Chicago, the world would be far nearer the universal religion than it is now were that only so. There has never been one single family in which parents and children all had the intellectual abilities of this Romanist who was so catholic in his public remarks at the parliament meetings. An unbiased study of the remarks of the undoubtedly earnest body of men who met at Chicago demonstrates one thing, and that is, that they all desired that unity of "religious" purpose among the nations which the meeting purported to illustrate. The very fact that such a parliament did take place without jar or rivalry shows that the influences of commercial intercourse have done much to break down the austere barriers of the creeds. All the theologies express are those differences of ignorance which prevents men from uniting in one self-protective endeavor and study of the best means to overcome social misery and the dangers pertaining thereto. As a study of the same questions, from a materialistic standpoint, these pages have been written. Before, however, placing religion before the reader, it may be well to call attention to the fact that no unity of purpose can be expected from the theologians for an indefinite period. It may be well also to call attention to the fact that while science has not been without its heated personalities, it has never been disgraced by the barbarities and "unbrotherly" actions, hatreds and crimes which have sullied the crown of the church. Scientists have never yet fallen to the level of brutal savagery which has so often been demonstrated by theologians. The saint-like "folding" at Chicago was made possible only by the under-

mining which the sappers and miners of science and commerce have made on the crumbling walls of theology. It was more a question how shall we resist the inroads of science and save ourselves than any other which made that meeting possible and so lamb-like. The leopard could not change his spots so rapidly unless there was great and vital cause. That cause is the spread of materialistic and rational views over the world in spite of the most desperate endeavors of theology universal. The contradictions of the doctors have never been so well placed before the world as in the published proceedings of that parliament. That they will open the eyes of the nations to the futility of seeking salvation in such a pool of discord is self-evident. That they will have exactly the contrary effect to that hoped for is plain. Materialism, not theology, will be the gainer thereby. Theology offers humanity the indigestible stone of discord and fogs of uncertainty. Materialism offers man the ripe fruits of the tree of exact knowledge. Theology is the murky canal of uncertainty through which man has to wade to the clear stream of materialistic religion which is offered undefiled and pure to the suffering millions. Materialism is founded in light. Its vestal lamps are always trimmed. No foolish virgins attend at her altars.

THE LESS THEOLOGY THE MORE RELIGION.

Theology is founded on darkness and ignorance. It is unevolutional and contradicted by every phenomenon in nature. It starts complex, with a multitude of gods, and simplifies itself to one God, which becomes so diluted that Job's assertion is still more true: "Can ye by searching find out God?" Theology has the audacity to assume that all men are fools; that science amounts to nothing; that the laws of nature are changeable; that ignorance is preferable to intelligence. Its audacious impudence in pushing its ignorance before the world can find no language fit to describe it. Read the utterances of a bishop of the Methodist Church late preached in a sermon in Boston.

"God in his infinite power and wisdom created this endless system of worlds.

"God fills space and this world does not fill one little corner of it. Yet when God came to this world as man he laid aside for the time being the exercise of his creative power and the sceptre of dominion. He governed all things prior to that, but he laid aside the government. More than that, he separated himself from the love and companionship and the service of the angels. He was born and lived in utter helpless poverty."

Suppose any scientist should utter such indescribable insanity as that, what would the world say of him? Yet two-thirds of the so-called Christian world sits in its fetich temples on Sundays and with intelligence asleep listens to such idiot drivellings and goes home mutually congratulating itself on "the wonderful sermon our dear pastor preached." I have no patience with such stuff any more than I would have with a maniac. A people willing to patiently listen to such nonsense is a great trial to one's credulity of human nature. No really intelligent person believes a word of it. It is not even used symbolically. We are told that "creation ceased," to abbreviate the passage; that the work of nature stopped for the years God was roaming around Galilee in the person of a man, though at all other times "he fills space and this world does not fill one little corner of it." But when on earth "he laid aside for the time being the exercise of his creative power and the sceptre of his dominion!"

Stop a little, ye fetich worshippers, and think what those words would mean had they any meaning? God fills space and is (generally) everywhere, what was the rest of creation doing all that time? Growth is a system of creation and re-creation, of development continuous! Did the trees stop, did the human race stop developing, did the stars stop in their course, did anything stop during the time the Master-spirit is said to have "quit his job?" Squarely, fairly, without an iota of reserve, such stuff as that Bishop preached is blasphemy, it is a lie against nature. If there were only a God such as these people assume how many hundreds of them would have been stricken dead in the pulpits for defamation of character?

Call that stuff religion? It is below the fetichism of the undeveloped Hottentot! Call it enlightenment? It is the quintessence of darkness! Call it worship? It is the blindest of idolatry before the fetich of traditional and ignorant superstition!

Massachusetts, politically, bowed down to the same fetich at Chicago on Sunday, May 28, '93, when her representative insulted the intelligence of the State by posting on her building at the Fair grounds—

“By order of the Great and General Court of Massachusetts this building is closed on the Lord's day.

E. C. HOVEY,

“Executive Commissioner.”

The above should have had the following heading:

“The Politicians of the Great and General Court Bow down before the Great Fetich and humbly supplicate for the Votes of the ignorant, the superstitious and irresponsibles in the State.” Why have lunatic and imbecile asylums when the legislatures and churches are full to repletion? “Scribes, Pharisees, Hypocrites,” who shall warn ye of the wrath to come?

The people of Massachusetts, to a very large majority, even though a minority of them may have given an hour or so to fetich-worship on that Sunday, show they had in part broken from traditional superstition by being in the woods, on the roads and drives. Over one-half of Boston and every other city went out to enjoy the “wondrous works of nature.” The electrics were crowded, and every attainable vehicle in livery stables was in use. Mothers wheeled their babes that they might enjoy the refreshing sweetness of blossoming spring and behold the “lilies of the valley which toil not, neither do they spin,” though clad in raiment more beauteous than the fabled Solomon's. Did mothers stop being mothers, did the human heart stop, did man stop thinking while this fetich God deserted his labors and came on earth to visit a few thousand people, and an insignificant portion of “creation”? Talk about infidels! I would like to see the man who can find such manifest and insulting infidelity to the truth in the lines of Paine, Voltaire or any of the great saviours of humanity. Talk about evolution and theology being identical! You might as well say light and darkness were, or that some imbecile in an asylum was the same man that a Darwin, a Virchow, an Agassiz, a Newton, or Spencer is? The idiots are in the churches; the imbeciles may be in the asylums. That is, those apparently having no minds at all are in the

churches, while we confine the weak-minded in the asylums. "Turn about would be fair play" so far as the advancement of the world is concerned. We might improve the weak-minded, while the idiot is beyond salvation. Theology has profaned the Bible, which is a grand book. It is the history of a race, perhaps the most wonderful of all the races of men. The Bible itself, the Old Testament, is grand in its struggles with its environment and in its magnificent portrayal of nature. Even its interpretation of cause is grand. It is grand in its limitations to one cause, Jehovah. It is grand in its delineation of the wonders of nature.

"The Heavens declare the Glory of God
The firmament showeth his handiwork."

We all understand that. The weakness of the Bible is that it failed to recognize Law. It records man falling, not man rising. Theology records man falling until dead intellectually. The Bible is founded on tradition. It is "looking backwards." The emancipated Jew of to-day is not only looking forward, but setting the light by which others may see the way. No other race has so many and such true torch-bearers. With the puritans they have the credit of being the nucleus of nearly all that is grandest and best in the onward movement of humanity on this continent. Outside of the Aryo-germanic races the Jew and the Chinaman, among the new-comers, are the bulwark which freedom has to stand behind and push forward in its battle against theological superstition among us. Better the cholera and the Russian Jews than the extension of the theological pestilence among us by ignorant Italians and such like. Romanism however, saves us from a worse theological despotism by keeping the balance of the watch-dogs of ignorance busy watching her.

Science is steadily marching on in the meantime. Theology is not religion. Theology looks back thousands of years and, like Joshua's sun, has stopped and stood still ever since. It even exceeds its God in its ability to stand still. He only stopped "marching on" while perambulating this earth in false clothes. Theology generally stopped where it began and has not since changed its

clothes. Where it has gone on it is disappearing by self-dilution. Unlike the homeopathic fetich, the more you shake it the more it loses in potency. One likes to shake the theological devil up as little as a terrier does a rat. The only difference is that the dog has something tangible to grasp hold of. Theology, like every other error of similar nature has a "sketch" of fact to stand on. That fact is that there is a cause for things. When it limited and defined cause, however, it left the ground of fact to support itself on traditional superstition. Its position absolutely denies the possibility of man's advancing in the knowledge of nature. The facts as dogmatically contradict it. Man has practically demonstrated the absurdity of his theology in his every act since he began the great conflict. The fetichism of the Bushman recognizing an individual fetich (cause) for nearly every natural phenomena, is infinitely more in accordance with the facts than the one God of theology in any of its forms. The trinity is more true to Evolution than the unity of God. The more theology becomes rationalized the more is the way prepared for the truth to enter the befogged intellects of her adherents. No one can comprehend the potency of truth developing in a backward direction which would be the fact if theology were true.

But, what is religion?

The Jesus of the Gospels when asked by the rich young man "what he should do to enter eternal life" did not tell him to believe in anything except to sell what he had and give it to the poor. It has already been pointed out that Jesus had no very exalted opinion of rich people. The apostle known as St. James, who is always looked upon as the preceptor of practical christianity, does not say much about faith, but does say that "pure religion, and undefiled before God the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction and keep himself unspotted from the world." He also has no partiality for rich people. The above is the "salvation by works," doctrines so strongly advocated by the Unitarians and those modern followers of Ancient Christ, who claim that Jesus is rising higher and higher. If, however, their happiness and a future life depend in carrying out the above

principle, nine-tenths of professional Christians will be found wanting at the judgment day. That kind of Christianity is absolutely contradicted by the first law of nature, "look out for self." From my experience the majority of those called infidels, would have the best chance if a verdict according to the "word" were to be given, taking the Gospels and not the theologians as authority. Millions of Christians may have "the faith" required by the theologians, but if the Christ is to be judge, mighty few of them would be called at the general resurrection.

A few definitions of religion follow, from recent writings, without mentioning the authors.

"Religion is an inner life of righteousness." The above contradicts that, for it says it is an outer life of works.

"Religion is the state of a man's soul, it is disposition and conduct." Religion was in the hearts of men before it went into books. The first I cannot comprehend, and the second is like unto it. All this talk about "religion of the heart," "giving the heart to God" is pure metaphorical rubbish, but I find there are many people so ignorant as to believe it and not to know that the heart is nothing but a muscular blood-pump and that a "good-hearted" person is one who has a vigorous circulation. So grand and complete is our boasted public-school system that even though physiology is pretended to be studied, the majority of students graduate with no better idea of the circulation of the blood than the ancients who thought the liver the center of the circulation, that the heart pumped cold air into the lungs to cool off the blood, and that the arteries carried the air. Whatever of religion or theology we may have in us is from the brain and not the heart. Good, sound, logical education in our public schools, with the absolute abolition of all things theological, Bible and hymn-books, will do more to remove the fetiches of superstition from our children and correct the injurious influences of the church than all else.

Here is another nonsensical definition of religion, from one who imagines himself philosophical.

"I believe, with Kant, that outside of moral conduct everything that men offer to God with the hope of pleas-

ing him, is mere superstition. I know no rational man, who has been touched by the essence of Christianity, who does not hold this opinion. Personal righteousness is the supreme test of the value of religion. The only final value of religion is its power to create character."

The error in the above lies in its utter ignorance of the psychic phenomenon to which the word "religion" is alone applicable. The orthodox schools may not find much enjoyment in having a heretic endorse their assertion that they are right when they assert that "Salvation by works," or moral character has little if any direct relation to religion. "Salvation by faith," in the orthodox sense, has no nearer relation, however. Religion is not a scheme or plan in any sense of the word.

"Religion is the faculty of realizing the infinite."

"Religion is the union of man with God."

"Religion is primarily our relation to the Supreme, to God himself."

"The underlying element of all religions, without which there can be no spiritual worship, is the belief that the human worshipper is somehow made in the likeness of the divine."

"The religion of a nation is its sacred impulse towards an ideal."

"Religion may be defined, as that special determination of human nature which causes man to seek, above all contingent things, union with a sovereign and mysterious Power, at once attractive and formidable, and impels him to realize this union by acts in keeping with his idea of that power."

It is evident from the few quotations given that if there had been an iota of endeavor, or even the most "spiritualized" suspicion that any attempt was to be made at the Chicago "parliament" towards a "universal religion," that the theological bulls would have at once broken loose and got on the rampage. The last quotations indicate that their authors assume religion to be the search after an ideal on the part of man, and that the ideal is a God-man. In the section on "the evolution of ethics" the only possible ideal to which man can attain—man universal by the path of man individual—will be detailed. The ideal is entirely from within. It derives no inspiration

from without. It is of, man, by man and for man. But the theological ideal is different. It demands that man shall form a union with that which the prophet well said cannot be discovered—God! “Can you, by searching, find out God?” Humanity demands something more tangible than the Infinite Vacuity of its own ignorance. Mysterious individualized potentialized forces have had their day, so far as the intelligence of mankind is concerned. It will be seen that the position of theology is incomprehensible though I understand what the theologian’s words are meant to convey from his mind to mine. With Job, I cannot comprehend God. Why, will appear later.

Incomprehensible as the theological idea is in its ultimate essentials and much of its framework, it is still, so far as words go, comprehensive wisdom in comparison to the meaningless vapories of the so-called monistic school as represented by the following:

“Which conception of God is adopted by the religion of science?

“The religion of science is not Atheistic, but Theistic.

“Monotheism, as it is commonly held, is the belief in a single God. In this sense monotheism is actually a polytheism that has reduced its gods to one in number. Yet God is neither one single individual God nor many gods. Number does not apply to him. God is one not in the sense that there is one kind of Godhood. There is not one God-being; but there is divinity. God is one in the same sense that there is but one reason and but one truth.

“The religion of science rejects Anthropotheism and also Deism, which is only a peculiar kind of Anthropotheism.

“The God of the religion of science is not a person. However, he is not less than a person, but infinitely more than a person. The authority for conduct which the religion of science teaches is divine and holy. We should neither call God personal nor impersonal, but super-personal.

“Our soul consists of our impulses, dispositions, and ideas. I am a living, willing and thinking being.”

“Our soul is partly inherited from our ancestors, (our dispositions) partly planted in us by education (our ideas) partly acquired by imitation (our habits) partly

formed under the impression of our individual experience, (our convictions) and partly worked out through reflection (our theories). Our soul has a long history, which neither begins with our birth, nor ends with our death.

"We have great trouble not so much in understanding, but in feeling that our soul is not our individual self, but God in us."

"We have to give up the idea that our real self belongs to ourselves. Our soul is not our own but mankind's; and mankind in its turn is not its own; the soul of mankind is from God, it develops in God, and all its aspirations and yearnings are to God."

The most serious objection to be raised against the above is that there is nothing in it. It lacks positivism. It has not a single virtue of any of the theologies. It borrows words such as Soul, God, which convey a distinct meaning confirmed and rendered absolute by the sanctity of historical usage, and gives them meanings which no one in the world, either deist, theist, atheist, spiritualist, or materialist would for one moment accept. They beautifully illustrate the absurdity of agnosticism. "If 'tis, 'tis and can't be no 'tiser; if 'taint, 'taint and can't be no tainter," said the negro philosopher with far more wisdom than the agnostic.

Who will accept the statement that the "soul" is the Intelligence pure and simple? That God is "our impulses, dispositions, ideas"? That is more atheistic than materialism. It is pure nothing. It is neither half-man nor half-god. Who can comprehend the meaning of such words as "that our Soul (really meaning our intelligence, brain action) is not our individual self but God in us," when compared with "we should neither call God personal, nor impersonal, but super-personal?" What is he then? I must say that I can comprehend what a theologian means to convey to me by "soul" and "God" but what the above words mean is more incomprehensible than the endeavors of my pet dog to convey something to my mind by whines.

"PURE RELIGION AND UNDEFILED."

One of the speakers at the "Parliament of Religions"

gave direct utterance to the true purposes of that gathering, as previously intimated, when he said:

"This parliament is unparalleled in its purpose not to array sect against sect, or exalt one form of religion at the cost of all other forms, but to unite all religion against all irreligion—"

It is evident that the writer is as combative an example of the "irreligion" meant as can be found. The real question is, is not the religion so positively asserted the actual irreligion which is destructive to the solidarity of the human race?

Another speaker at the same parliament would seem to be of that opinion when he says: "The great obstacle to the religious unification of the race is the irreligious always associated and often identified with the religious." Dr. Abbott's (Brooklyn) assertion that "Religion is the mother of all religions" infers the answer to the question. There is no such thing as "All religions." There is no such thing as a "dead" or a "new" religion. With Mohammed (with a change of words and genius) we may say, "there is but one religion and Humanity is its prophet." With Monte-Cristo, materialism may say—"religion is mine." None other has found it. The parliament softened down the rough surface of the theologies. It magnified the solidarity of the humanities. As the universalism of man becomes apparent the diversionism of the theologies disappears. But the parliament adjourned without even seeking the "Pearl of Price." It dared not attempt it. To discover it, it must have lost its God and found man. That would be to discover the universal religion. That would be to reveal that unit on and around which the humanities could build their solid column in remembrance of the parliament. As such a column must be of material, so in and out of and by materialism must the religious unit be formed and developed. The theologies have had their day, for interminable ages, and found nothing. Materialism wants but to touch the human mind with the wand of unprejudiced and unbound intelligence, and lo! the springs of truth will burst open and drop the precious and long-sought jewel at our feet.

But, how can so unsentimental, so dry a thing as materialism do this which sentimental philosophy has

vainly searched for through countless ages? It will be remembered that the Rev. Minot J. Savage declares "Materialism and atheism to be out of court." That is simply an opinion without evidence. It is proof sufficient to convict Mr. Savage in any court that he knows nothing about materialism. It is well enough known that ninety-nine one-hundredths of the so-called Christian world would not accept Mr. Savage's definition of Christianity any more than he would theirs. He would have been fully as much "out of court" at the World's Parliament as the materialism he condemns. In the broadest sense, to avoid all chances of dispute; deism is the belief in the individualization of Cause, as a creative and intelligent force, existing outside of that which is generally termed nature and yet controlling it. Speaking of religion in China, a delegate said: "Thus Tien Chu (Lord of Heaven) will ever stand in Chinese as a protest against nature-worship and significant of the true God."

I think that the mass of the so-called religionists believe God to be an extra-natural spirit, absurd as that idea really is.

Materialism is exactly the contrary. Materialism is Nature. Its religion is Nature. Its religion is ever present, eternal, unchangeable. It requires no definition; no special manifestation. It manifests itself. The heavens declare its glory; the firmament is its handiwork: day unto day speaketh its language and night unto night manifesteth it to knowledge.

Materialism recognizes cause everywhere. It refuses to individualize it, or describe it, save as it manifests itself as effect. Materialism refuses to separate, or cannot conceive of cause being independent of nature. It admits its own fallibility and that beyond an effect; while it can hypothecate cause, it cannot define it. It accepts Job's dictum "can ye by searching find out," cause, meaning thereby the last cause—or first cause, as you will. Theology discusses the absurd position of separating and individualizing First-cause from matter. Bishop Keene has told us that a nation of atheists or deists has never existed. How about Buddhism? That comes as near national atheism in many lands as Christianity does to theism in others. But by "deist" the bishop means a believer in

God without the theological machinery of Christianity. As to the existence of a God, an individualized, all-ruling, all-pervading, creative Intelligence, millions on millions are agreed—while those who agree in any one of the “anities” or theologies, scarcely hundreds or even individuals are fully in accord, when such have any actual intelligent individualism. It has been said that “Atheism is the negation of ignorance.” Savage is right as to atheism. It is out of court among intelligent beings. Atheism denied cause altogether either in or out of material. Abiogenesis, or spontaneous generation, was all the idea it had of cause. With theology it assumed that something could come out of nothing. It only differed by negating the theological Nothing. Materialism is the very foundation of knowledge. The irritation of the action of one material on another (see section on evolution of intelligence), following the fundamental physical law of action and reaction gives rise to intelligence. If any kind of a soul finds its origin in that way those who think it is an immortal individualization of spirit are welcome to that belief. It is no wonder that materialists, or individualistic thinkers, are as rare as they are. The conditions necessary to their birth are equally rare. They are born. They are not made to order. No power of education can make or unmake them being once born. Most people are simply hatched out of the ancestral intellectual mold as chickens out of eggs.—The differentiation is external and morphological, not internal and psychical. Under the conditions which have thus far prevailed, in which the breeding of the human race has been left to God and to accident, instead of directed by the selective intelligence of an advanced humanity, it has been seldom that the phylogenic prepotencies have by heredity become ontogenetically potent to produce that marked individualism which stands free and acts for itself as if it were alone in the world. In that way only can the materialist, or any special ability, be produced.

WHAT IS A MATERIALIST ?

A materialist is an individual with such a degree of individualization that when he has arrived at intellectual and physical puberty the historical-ancestral umbilical

cord which bound him to the human race is cut forever. Be it male or female, the character is best expressed by the old saying "A man is born:" meaning thereby, an individual capable of standing alone without the shaky props of the past being placed behind his intellectual "backbone." Such an individual has no reverence. He respects truth as he sees it. He detests antiques of all kinds, and will have no "old furniture" of any kind around him, merely because it has been. "Post hoc ergo propter hoc," is unknown to him. He respects the personal individuality of others, however much may be his contempt for their intellectual atrophy. With Thomas Paine, he discards precedents of all kinds. He is his own God. He knows no authority but himself. His text book is the Revelations of the Eternal Cosmos, written in indelible words on mountain, valley, river, sea; on bush and forest monarch; in the fish of the sea and birds of the air and all that inhabiteth the earth, in man and last and first of all in himself. To this book he turns. From this book he reads. Within himself, of himself and for himself he thinks as if the world was in him and he the world.

There is nothing sacred to him except the truth. What is truth to him? A cosmic fact. His interpretation of it is also his truth, subject to change if the types of the cosmos imprint other views in his mind. The traditions of his ancestors he throws ruthlessly "to the dogs" which, with good sense, generally spurn them, being too musty. A creature without attachments to anything but himself and that which benefits himself in the broadest sense—a utilitarian of utilitarians. An acknowledger of cause everywhere—but not a definer of the Unknown. He despises ancestor-worship in any form. Sufficient unto himself, he leaves the dead past to bury its dead. He lives in and for the present. He knows that if every man was as he is there would be no poverty in the world. He is the foe of misery in every form, because it is his own worst enemy. He is of nature and walks in her paths. He finds his oneness in the twitter of the birds and rumbling of the brooks; in the cooing of the babe and the roaring of the storm. He feels himself part and parcel of the infinite and eternal cosmos. He walks erect confident in the immutability of the law. He worships not

himself, neither boweth he before any image whether graven in marble or on the pages of hymnal, or as a traditional legend in the minds of others. His church is the "blue-ethereal sky" limited only by the boundless horizon.

Such is a materialist! Is he such a lost, "God-forsaken wretch;" such "an object of holy-terror;" such "a moral leper" as the theologians have generally taught? It must be evident from reading the records of the "Parliament of Religions," that no one there thought it possible that a definition of religion could be given capable of universal adoption. A definition of religion to reach that end must be absolutely free from all irreligious element, which, as openly admitted consist of the creeds, or theologies. It must be so axiomatic as to be impossible of dispute. Strange as it may appear without mature reflection, the true definitions of religion is godless. It is godless, because it does not define anything whatever. It is godless because limitless. The trouble with most definitions is that they define too much. They include effects, which are themselves causes in the primary effect which is of itself cause. A good example of this evil is to be seen in Webster's definition :

"Religion. The recognition of God as an object of worship, love, obedience, or right feeling towards God as rightly apprehended."

The fact is, that religion is none of the above things. It requires no argument, for it is axiomatic that there is some one idiosyncratic psychic phenomenon manifest in man under all conditions and at all times, which warrants the assertion of Dr. Abbott, as was apparent in the congress of the representatives of all the chief nations of the earth, that "religion is essential to humanity." Materialist though I am, let me enter a protest in the name of humanity, that Dr. Abbott's expression is but a half-truth. It does not express the fact as it is. Religion is inseparable from humanity. More! Religion is evolutionary. As a perception of bioplasm, religion is inseparable from matter. Religion is recognized in the following from the Imperial Chinese representative of Confucianism, though the majority of Christians would utter an indignant denial :

"What the Confucianists call things spiritual, is nothing more than the law of action and reaction, which operates upon matter without suffering loss."

Changing the final word "civilization" to religion, the following words, from the same source, are directly applicable to the case in point

"As long as the system of learning was corrupt, the system of administration was corrupt, so the learning of the different schools, by reason of its resting on no solid foundation, could contribute nothing to the advancement of civilization (religion)."

The "system of learning is corrupt" in theology, and hence it has been and is obstructive to the advancement of civilization. Another expression should be cut in adamant letters over the door of every temple dedicated to that relic of intellectual bondage, "the unknown God." They should be over the head of every legislative presiding officer in the world. They were also uttered by Pung Kwang Yu, the Chinese representative whose contribution is in all respect the most instructive of the entire mass of suggestive papers in the report of the parliament. In closing, this genuine statesman said :

"I have a favor to ask of all the religious people in America, and that is, that they will hereafter treat all my countrymen just as they have treated me."

To the honor of the theologians it may be said, that they have generally always insisted on fair treatment of the Chinese. The spirit of their religion, however, is not that of the politicians and the people. True religion inspires all. It is the beginning of all. It has not the evils of the theological article such as, "religion is at the outset always exclusive and isolating." On the contrary, it is as broad as humanity. It cannot be said of it that a "religion which teaches error precipitates a crisis." Natural religion does nothing of the kind. We now venture to define it.

THE DEFINITION OF RELIGION.

If true, the definition must stand the test of evolution in the most severe sense of the term. It must be of man and from man. It must include God the terror, God the mother, and all the Gods. It must embrace fetichism in

all its forms. It must be equal to the necessities of man in every stage of development. It shall be. Here it is.

Religion is a psychical phenomenon. It is the result of the action of any environment on the brain of man which causes an intellectual shock and inspires it to seek the cause thereof. In other words, religion is that effect, on the mind of man, tutored or savage, of natural phenomena which instigates him to recognize cause in nature. It may be intra-human or extra-human conditions; it matters not. The recognition of cause in nature is all there is to religion.

How simple! "The recognition of cause!" Religion is a fact! It is not "a spirit." It demands no worship. It is a truth. Religion, as cause, leads to science. Science is the search for cause! Nothing more! Science is pure religion. It seeks only cause. Some ignorant, half-fledged theological "scientist" has said, "Scientific thought, as scientific thought, can neither be religious nor irreligious." That is blasphemy! That person's science resembles the early opinions as to Darwin's prehistoric man, half monkey, half ape and t'other half questionable.

Another would-be scientist of the same "descent" asserts "there can be no reconciliation between science and religion." The man is pardonable. He is a shining light of occultism, which, being interpreted, meaneth, hidden in the dark. He should come out into the light of knowledge. He would then learn that that psychic phenomenon to which the name religion can alone be given, is the direct psychic cause of that other psychic phenomenon to which alone the name Science is applicable. To repeat:

Religion is the recognition cause. Science is the search after cause. Theology alone is in conflict with religion. Science cannot be. The child fights not its mother. Theology is religious in so far as it recognizes cause. The moment it begins to define the Unknown it may not become atheistic, but it becomes most decidedly irreligious. It has not that respect for its own ignorance which is becoming to any knowledge whatever, nor does it respect what little knowledge it may have. It limits cause to one thing and one definition. Christian theology denies

to people born out of "wedlock" with the church, even the ability to see cause. It denies them religion and yet the more causes a man recognizes in nature the more must he be filled with the true religious spirit. Polytheism is more truly religious than monotheism. Leaving theologians out of consideration entirely for a moment, there is really but one main difference between the intelligent deist and the advanced materialist. The first defines cause from the influences of tradition, or he limits it; he insists there must have been a Creator, even though he does not insist that all creation was the result of daily proclamations for six days and that the Promulgator rested on the seventh. He cannot free God from himself, or himself from God. His God is a reflection of his best, or ideal self. Cause is limited to one hypothetic body of which in reality he knows nothing. The materialist, on the other hand, recognizes not only cause, but causes, and he knows that as every effect may of itself be a cause, and that all effects are of a material nature and cannot comprehend any other, he assumes that, as every last moment he comes to is an effect, and that as he has tried these effects as causes and causes as effects back to a point where he can go no further, he rightly assumes that all causes in the Unknown must also be bound on material and act according to fixed laws, themselves inseparable from material. He is not such a conceited ass as to attempt to define the Unknown by a word photograph of himself made by himself. His Unknown is unknown. It is not an anthropomorphic mist of indefiniteness. It is an unknown yet actual something. Many "Unknowns" have been demonstrated. Instead of being dispelled and driven farther off they became nearer and nearer. The materialist lives in the light of the ever rising sun of knowledge and not in the darkness of traditional superstition. He does not follow the theologians and believe

"The books (which) teach Darkness was, at first of all,
And God sole meditating in that night,"

on the contrary he

"Looks not for God and the Beginning there !
Nor Him, nor any Light."

As to the revelation of the Last Cause to him, he cares not, but patiently works, reflects, and works again to be lost in that pure religious thought which daily recognizes that the true scientific position always is and must ever be :

“ Shall any gazer see with mortal eyes,
Or any searcher know by mortal mind ?
Veil after veil will lift, but there must be
Veil upon veil behind.”

He longs to be one of the veil lifters. He believes in Law, in, and of, and inseparable from all material in him, of him, and with him also as a part of this Universe. No man has more beautifully portrayed the materialist's position and the spirit of true religion, the recognition of Cause in nature as the manifestation of the law, than Edwin Arnold in his “Light of Asia,” which should have been more truly styled the “Light of the World,” and that other poem “The Ignis-fatuuus, of Jerusalem.”

THE RECOGNITION OF THE LAW THE SPIRIT OF TRUE RELIGION

“ Before beginning and without an end,
As space eternal and as surety sure
Is fixed a Power eternal which moves the world.
Only its laws endure.

“ This is its touch upon the blossomed rose,
The fashion of its hand-shaped lotus leaves;
In dark soil and the silence of the seeds
The robe of Spring it weaves;

“ That is its painting on the glorious clouds,
And these its emeralds on the peacock's train;
It hath its station in the stars ; its slaves
In lightning, wind, and rain.

“ Out of the dark it wrought the heart of man,
Out of dull shells the pheasant's pencilled neck;
Ever at toil, it brings to loveliness
All ancient wrath and wreck.

“ The gray eggs in the golden sun-bird's nest
Its treasures are; the bees six-sided cell
Its honey pot: the ant wots of its ways,
The white dove knows them well.

"It spreadeth forth for flight the eagle's wings
 What time she beareth home her prey: it sends
 The she-wolf to her cubs: for unloved things,
 It findeth food and friends.

"It is not marred nor stayed in any use,
 All liketh it; the sweet white milk it brings
 To mothers' breasts; it brings the white drops too
 Wherewith the young snake stings.

"This is its work upon the things ye see,
 The unseen things are more; men's hearts and minds,
 The thoughts of people and their ways and wills,
 These too, the great Law binds."

Buddha is the only true religious founder who has yet graced this earth, irrespective of the traditional absurdities he introduced as necessary formalities in a life of self-abnegation. The modern theosophist no more comprehends Buddhism than he does what religion is. As I read Buddhism it is absolutely Godless and free from fetichism in the etiological sense. It recognizes cause and causes everywhere, and that these are but evidences of the workings of the great laws of nature. Nowhere does Buddha define cause. I am no worshipper of Buddha, but I do think him the only one of the so-called founders of a system called religious who was inspired by a correct idea of man's relation to nature. His very ideal, that all life is useless, and that to add to the misery by creating new life is the crime of all crimes, conforms entirely with ideas I have arrived at through contact with the world and self-study. But, of that later. I wish now to demonstrate beyond the possibility of contradiction the exact correspondence of the definition given of Religion to the conditions of evolution in other respects.

The first excitation to seek cause in nature experienced by primeval man must have been a shock of that nature to cause fear.* And among the first have been death, then thunder and lightning. The first fetiches created by man were spirits supposed to control these powers. The things for which theologians tell us we should be grateful, and which are in reality of far more benefit, the

* In the above I have followed the best authorities, but have recently seen cause to change my mind, of which in a later work now in preparation.

sun, the moon and rain were taken by this matter-of-fact animal as he took sleep and waking, as of no account. They did him no harm and he was totally unaware of the benefits he derived though their action. Cause was simple yet multiple at first. It was as simple as the mind of man whose intellectual perceptions scarcely extended to the limit of his most superficial environment. But, as the severity of environment increased, and to overcome it man's intelligence correspondingly developed so has his knowledge of nature augmented, and as he has demonstrated an effect here and another there, so have the causes multiplied, and in the spirit of true religion there are now as many unknown Gods—causes—as man has effects for which he is at present unable to define the cause. Could he, he would have as many more or less perfectly elucidated effects with as many unknown causes still behind it. In one thing only would he be content, and that would be that all was according to the laws of nature, which are as eternal as material, and more unchangeable than any he has any conception of. The laws are few, the elements few; but their manifestation in different combinations seems to be as endless as eternity itself. How true it is:

“ Veil after veil will lift,
But there must be veil on veil behind ”?

Truly the Jewish psalmist says (I change the wording a little):

The heavens declare thy glory-law,
The firmament showeth thy handiwork
Day unto day uttereth thy speech,
Night unto night showeth thy knowledge,
There is no speech nor language where the Law is not manifested.

In this idea of religion we have no limitations, no superstition. It is of all and in all. It is common to all peoples. It is of them as a part of nature and has been developed by them and will continue to develop with them. It requires neither worship, nor reverence. It commands respect. It is not an intelligence of itself, and yet it is the prime cause in the evolution of intelligence. It is the result of matter acting on matter, and

corresponds in every way to the evolution of intelligence of which we shall soon try to treat very briefly. It is not morality, and yet it is the foundation of all morality, even as man is subject to the action of the same great laws working in him as in all else that lives. It is not righteousness, and yet a full understanding of the laws is the very foundation of all that is conducive to peace on earth and good-will to men. The laws are all and in all, of and in material and inseparable from it. The Gods are dethroned. Respect the Law. Respect Self—Follow the Law ; that is the way.

“ Enter the Path. There is no curse like ignorance;
No pain like superstition, no deceit like tradition.
Enter the Path, for hath he gone whose mind
Treads down that great offense: God!

“ Enter the Path. There spring the healing streams,
Quenching all thirst! there bloom immortal flowers,
Carpeting the way with joy! Enter the Path!
Reason alone is God.”

THE EVOLUTION OF INTELLIGENCE.

EGOISM IS THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF SELF-POWER.

A LEARNED Hindoo says: It cannot be proved that thought has been moulded out of matter?—Let us see if it cannot be proven that it has.

There can certainly be no dispute as to intelligence being a result of the action of something. There should be no dispute that all things which act are of a material nature, though the elements of many of them, gases, are of so microscopic a character that our means of or for differentiating the individual atoms or molecules are totally inadequate, even as they are to individualize the atomic and molecular structure of those primary elements, cells, of which we at present know very much. Intelligence is of material origin. We call it an energy to give it a name. Though manifested in another direction it is physiologically of the same nature as muscle energy, or any other physiological result, and is dependent on two sub-energies, the catabolic and anabolic. The thing, unit, on which these energies are bound, of which they form an integral part, is the cell. All visible living material is of a cellular nature or origin in a general sense, though a more subtle differentiation is now necessary, and we say that all living material is primarily of a nuclear origin. What can be said to be essential of living material? Life must be continuous. It must then be capable of self-nutrition, and self-reproduction; in other words self-protection. This implies action. Action implies the capability of being acted upon and reacting in a corresponding degree and direction. This attribute of action, common to all living material, is, in fact, that which makes it so to our senses. It is innate to and inseparable from it. We cannot conceive of life without action. But this does not mean action in a sense always open to our senses in its most delicate manifestations. We see it in a general way. This action pre-supposes another innate and inseparable quality to living material, which is known

as irritability. It is this irritability of bioplasm (living material) which renders it capable of acting and being acted upon. Evolutionally speaking, this bioplasmitic irritability is the fundamental physiological nucleus of intelligence, though in general we do not speak of intelligence in that manner. This statement, however, corresponds with the facts of evolution. A development from the simplest of homogeneous structure, with corresponding simplicity and directness in physiological action to great heterogeneity of structure and corresponding complexity of action.

All the organic functions of the most complicated mammalian machinery (man or dog, horse or mouse) have passed through all the stages of development embraced in the one word, evolution. Let us try to get at a simpler manner of stating the question. Evolution is the development from a simple to a complicated machine, like that of a woolen factory from the ordinary spinning wheel and frame-weaver of a century or more ago, through machinery run by a wind-mill, then by water, then steam, and finally by electricity. The machinery becomes more complicated all the time, and its functions or actions more manifold and more delicate. While in one respect the same act is performed, spinning and weaving, there is only an indefinite comparison between the methods and results: the frames are incomparably more intricate and the results more complicated. It is a comparison between the rag-carpet of discarded homespun and the most velvet-like Brussels; of a fish-net with the most delicate lace. The evolution of intelligence has followed the same course; so has the general evolution of what we know as society. This is not theory. It is a simple statement of a fact as it has occurred in nature to which the name evolution has been given. As to how it has occurred, that is or has been theoretical. In other words, theory is our reading of the facts of the book of nature. If the reading be correct, then theory disappears, and our interpretation is as much a fact as those effects of observation on which our thoughts are based. No one denies that the grass grows from well-known seeds, that the mammalia develops also from "seeds," though of a different kind; but if we try to explain how, the processes of cell-segmentation and mul-

tiplication in each case, to the ordinary reader, and tell him how much the one resembles the other in general detail, he will simply laugh at us, because he is so ignorant that "he can't see it." Suppose I now say that that irritability of the grass-seed which leads it to spring forth into life and develop into grass, when acted on by moisture, heat and favorable food, is evolutionary and physiologically the same thing, though in minor degree, from a physical point of view, as the human intelligence. I suppose it will be generally doubted by all but most exceptional readers. It is true, however. Intelligence is but an out-folding, development, of the same attribute (irritability) of bioplasm (protoplasm) due to the necessity of organic life continually having been forced to differentiate itself more and more into greater complexity of structure in order to arrive at that degree of multiplicity of functions necessary to continued existence in a more and more heterogeneous environment. Let us now try to make this as clear as possible by turning at once to the great book of nature and starting with a fact. Before doing so let us again call to mind our evolutionary development of intelligence, leaving out of thought all ideas of animal intelligence.

Intelligence is that condition of living matter by which it evidences irritability: that is, is capable of being acted upon and reacting. Nothing more!

To be able to read and write, or make a million does not make a man in the highest and best sense to-day. Money does not make the man, but the man the money. The majority of people in Christian nations still believe in that fetich (thanks to the theologians who live in and thrive by ignorance and its natural copartner superstition), that the Lord pushed all the living things into this earth with one almighty shove on the appropriate day, each coming to existence like Jack out of a spring-box, when the Lord God touched the imperial button; the last touch producing man, the first man knowing it all, being wiser, better, nobler than all others since, having come from the loins of God in the first instance, and made out of "mud and sot up agin the fence to dry," in the second (the darkey preacher's explanation is fully as logical as the original, for he could no more comprehend "how de dus'

stick togedder," than the ancient writer how sand could be made into a living man without spiritual and God-like agency). All educated men know every word of the history of creation to be traditional myth from beginning to end. Up to the beginning of the 17th century the whole learned world did not know much better than the "learned priesthood" and its ignorant followers do to-day, though, to the honor of Greek "heathenism," when the gods were men and the best men became gods—when dead and useless—Aristotle did tell us, 400 B. C., more about the development of the chick within the egg than was known until Harvey, the father of experimental physiology, again cracked the shell of ignorance and let in the light. Harvey then taught that the unit of all life was an egg, and that all living things took their primary development from such an object, and enunciated an expression which ruled for two hundred years as axiomatically (and was far nearer the truth) as the "Word of God," has for 2000, "omnis ovum ex evum." This idea became more and more confirmed when an "egg" was found to be the nucleus of life in women and mammalia towards the end of the last century; and diligent investigators, then bound by the trammels of theological superstition, busied themselves in calculating how great the population of the world was to be, and, if my memory serves me right (an error of a few millions amounts to nothing), calculated that good Mother Eve—Satan's daughter theologically—had, locked up in her body, 250,000,000 such ova (eggs), and that each daughter of Eve in succession that was born had one egg less, and that when the supply was used up the human race would end. (The women should not forget that those wonderful mathematicians did not take into account the fact that "a man child," might be born occasionally, or that he was of much account in any direction, so far as the record shows. The hunger of man for knowledge—thanks to Mother Eve—seems to have always been insatiable, and, like Artemas Ward's 'coon, he has ever been a "koorus kind of a kuss," prying into the "ways of the Lord," in every way his ingenuity could suggest, and so it went on until 1838, when a botanist, Schleidel, the microscope having been perfected to the necessary degree, demonstrated that all vegetable tissue

had a cellular structure, and in the next year Schwann opened the way for the same idea regarding animal life. These very clever observers, and many others were still held to some degree, by the theological apron-strings; and, therefore, assumed that these cells were created by something else, or grew out of nothing—spontaneous generation. This idea prevailed for a few years even among the “doctors,” until Virchow took hold of the apron of the church and shattered her strings forever, by the demonstration that one cell developed from another cell, and that the theological fetich of something out of nothing—the Biblical creation—was as empty a superstition as the miraculous conception which from now on was also relegated to the home of departed saints. Virchow formulated the law of vital development, animal as well as vegetable, as “*omnis cellula e cellula*,” the primary unit of all life is a cell and by the multiplication and functional differentiation of such units the most complex organisms have been developed.

For about twenty years this idea held supremacy, but at the same time it stimulated man's hunger to know more, and the Darwinian announcement also excited scientific men to make investigations in all directions in search for more knowledge as to the most simple and primary forms of life, the microscope being improved constantly, and more and more adapted to revealing a knowledge of things long locked up in the deep vaults of nature. The discovery of the aniline dyes also did as much for the development of biological science as it has for the arts and manufactures, in that their experimental use has, with the aid of the highest amplifying powers, enabled investigators to differentiate the cells and monor-celled lowest organisms into sharply distinguishable parts, and thus, fragment by fragment, has the skeleton of evolutionary biology been put together until, although many links are still wanting, we have now a sufficiently perfected structure to read the whole story with comparative exactness, the missing links being of such a microscopic character, that the theoretic connection between the groups can be very readily supplied. The phylogenic tree of development from the primary morpho-biological unit and the ontogenetic development of the individual units of the most

complex units (man) is far more exactly understood than is the evolution of the species themselves. This is apparent at once, when it is known that the evolution of any mammalian individual or any vegetable from primary seed to mature development—the ontogenesis—is but a compendial repetition of the development (evolution) of life from its primary unit, the cell, to the beginning of the higher forms—phylogenesis.

All this study, however, has led to the establishment of the fact that the cell itself is not the primary unit of bioplasmatic life, and that the final axiom of development is at present “*omni nuclei e nuclei*,” or visible life begins with the nucleus and multiplication of nuclei from nuclei. If we examine a single cell of the body before disintegration begins, or a monad, like an *amœba*, according to the best modern technique, we always find it differentiated into two chemically different parts, a nucleus, or central portion, coloring intensely, and retaining its color under treatment which entirely removes the color from the body of the cell, or protoplasm, which in no case colors as distinctly and most frequently not at all, if a properly-selected nucleus tinction is used. The discovery of the bacteria, microbes or germs, as they are called, and much experimentation has demonstrated that the most indestructible and resistant of these objects, and the spores of those which develop such still more, are comprised of a substance having exactly the same chemical reactions to the same coloring material as the nucleus of the cells and monad organisms. This substance is called nuclein, and I have no doubt that in those micro-organisms which are made so entirely of this stuff that we, at present, can differentiate no other, and still more in that condition which we call spores, we have approached quite close to the first, and lowest individualization of bioplasm into form, the first and primordial ancestor of all living higher organisms, whether vegetable or animal, for nothing else that lives is known which has the power of survival under adverse circumstances which “spores” have, and the purely nuclein germs have almost the same degree of resistance. In a very brief manner we have thus traced evolution back to its beginning. It is not necessary to develop it up again morphologically. Those who desire to do that are

referred to the text-books of comparative biology, embryology and zoölogy. We had to go back to the beginning, however, in order to get at that biological point from which to develop our intelligence and to demonstrate the correctness of our statement, "Intelligence is that condition of living matter by which it evidences irritability; that is, is capable of being acted upon and reacting."

If our definition be true, it must be self-evident to all who read our explanations, that it is as applicable to the microbe unit of life as to man, the only difference being that between simplicity of structure and action and the utmost complexity of structure and corresponding manifoldness in action.

Without thought, and perhaps also without any exact knowledge of the evolution of life, the reader may be inclined to doubt that statement and to assume that thought is absolutely necessary to intelligence. But, I say to him that such a definition of intelligence is not correct, because it would have no evolutionary beginning; it would be a fetich brought into the world as a ready-made suit of clothes is handed you by a salesman. In the same way Biblical creation occurred. (The suit does have an evolution, however.) The average reader would probably be inclined to embrace Descartes's definition. "I think, therefore, I am," which in reality is not philosophical from the modern stand-point. It should be "I react, therefore I am." Now we come to it! This reaction of the biological unit, which we know as its irritability, may be for convenience (to adopt for a moment a more easily understood term) called its "nervosity," is the one essential attribute on which life depends. It is life, so far as it is in the power of man to express it. Life is one thing. Living is another. Living implies the means by which life is preserved and continued. A thing may still have life in its parts and still not be a living whole, as is the case in man when just dead and in all slaughtered animals. Naturally this condition is not of long duration; you cannot separate this irritability of bioplasm from life and living, both being but the manifestations of it—and dependent on its continued existence. The moment bioplasm begins to lose its irritability its life is threatened—it is in danger of losing its self-protective equilibrium—the

moment it is lost it is dead. The result of this primary vital intelligent function of bioplasm is self-protection, self-preservation, self-continuance, that is, the preservation and continuance of the species. If it does that, and every well-read person knows that statement to be true of all the primary units of life, then it fulfills all the essential functions of the higher-developed and more manifold intelligence of man. With all our brains we can do no more than that for ourselves. That completes our work! That being so, then the innate irritability of the monadic bioplasmatic unit must be the evolutionary unit of intelligence in life. Let us state the natural results of this primary intelligence, this bioplasm-irritability.

1st. Self-nutrition.

2. Vicarious nutrition, or taking up a surplus of food sufficient to produce offspring.

3. Multiplication, production of offspring—like out of like.

That certainly should be plain enough to any one. Can man do an iota more when his "life-work," is before him? The only difference is that the more complicated the organism—exactly in comparison to our modern woolen-mill and the tools of the first weavers—the more "fuss" does it make in doing the work, as a modern Atlantic liner, with all her parts and paraphernalia, does in comparison to the steamboat of Robert Fulton, or even a naphtha launch.

Here is another very essential point: If all this is due to the normal irritability of bioplasm, and that infers that something must have acted upon it, what is that something?

THE ENVIRONMENT.

What is that? Everything surrounding the bioplasmatic unit, the monad, or germ? In this case it is a fluid in which nutrient material is in solution, or suspended. This food is the substance acting, the irritants. How does the environment act in this case? By the chemical affinity between the bioplasm of the cell and the food in its environment. Hunger! "The cells know it is hungry," we can say. The cells of our body know they are hungry in the same way, but it requires incomparably more

machinery to satisfy them, but when all is done, what more have they done than: (1) fed themselves, (2) taken up enough surplus of food to (3) multiply and keep up their kind.

What more can we do, only it takes two to do it? but the two are one by law (?) than (1) feed ourselves, (2) provide a surplus to (3) feed our babes when born. Are we not then right in speaking of the irritability of the nucleoid unit of bioplasm as the primary origin of all intelligence, as the intelligence of protoplasm? The simplest known form in which bioplasm presents itself to us is in certain germs which chemically are made up essentially of nuclein and correspond in this direction with the nuclei of the next higher evolved organisms, the cells. The monad cells are closely related to embryonic cells in the still more highly evolved species. A cell may be said to form a unit of nuclein (comparable to certain bacilli) surrounded by protoplasm. Where did the protoplasm come from? Is this another abiogenetic species created for itself in the same manner as the creation in the traditional word? No! The protoplasm embracing the nucleus is a product of that nucleus, and indicates to us the adaptation of the same to a more exacting environment (regarding food) than that in which a simply nuclein body could survive. The action of an unsuitable environment on the irritability (intelligence) of a simple mass of nuclein, bioplasm has been such, that it produced from itself an intermediate substance, protoplasm, which again has a portion of the irritability of its parent substance, and this stuff forms an intermediate laboratory which prepares the food for the nucleus and itself. It is the intermediate cook between the environment and the nucleus. Here we have a slight degree of heterogeneity of structure with an equal degree of complexity in action. More intelligence, a compound irritability of the whole cell (two substances, nucleus and protoplasm), is now necessary to do the work which the nucleus alone did before. We have two varieties of irritability instead of one. It takes double the intelligence for the preservation of the cell and continuance of species that it did in a simple nucleous organism.

Evolution, when properly understood, is nothing more

nor less than the statement of the plain fact that development has taken a direct course, through manifold forms and varied ways from simplicity to complexity. The force which has caused this can be formulated into another law, which by no means has been sufficiently appreciated as yet, that of the Law of Self-Protection, which is the final result following logically on the Darwinian statement of "the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence." In nature everything is the result of the action of the law that action and reaction are equal but opposite in direction. It is all physics and chemistry. The irritability of bioplasm to the environmental irritants determines the degree of action in both directions. The inability to react in any one of the three natural directions by living bioplasm to a full degree has a corresponding influence on the life of individuals and eventually on a species. Changes in environment cause gradual changes in the reactive irritability of bioplasm, and those organisms reacting most favorably to themselves in the directions of self-nutrition, vicarious nutrition and reproduction are the ones which survive and in a corresponding degree. Fitness to survive is a qualitative, comparative statement of a fact. It is law as to final results occurring in long periods, though often applicable momentarily to individuals. The evolution from simplicity to complexity in structure and action has all been the result of the relation between the natural irritability of bioplasm (its intelligence) and its environment. An augmentation in the severity of the environment has invariably resulted in calling forth all the intelligence, irritability, present in the strongest of existing species, and invariably preceded the evolution of a higher order of intelligence, dependent on greater complexity of structure and more heterogeneity in irritability. This evolution of intelligence in such as have mounted on the crest of the waves of success and overcome their environment has been a constant menace, creating a still more persistently unovercomable environment to those already degrading, through inability to keep up the struggle, and has even its generally advantageous effects on them also if they can withstand the environment and live. That is the exact status of the social conflict to-day. The individualistic survivors of the past have created

such an exacting environment that its natural sifting process will surely catch and engulf every weakling of their own production, and the stronger of another stratum will manifest themselves. There are no "elect" in natural selection. Only those "bred to win" survive. The scientific question is to "rob nature of the sting" and mitigate the struggle by only breeding those who can win.

On this physiological irritability of matter depends all life; but to live it is equally essential that the individual possesses the *might to can* over every obstacle. If he has not this individualistic "might to can" over all the obstacles of environment, he either perishes at once or gradually.

What is true of individuals in a species is equally so of a species as a whole.

The "mights to can."

1st. The might to snatch and hold all the necessary food, shelter, etc., from surroundings;

2d. The might to snatch a surplus of the same;

3d. The might to reproduce self and protect self until the second self should be able to do likewise.

That is all there is in it. The amœba possess these attributes, these "mights to can" in their one-celled organisms, and we have no more in our incomparably more highly evolved and differentiated bodies.

"Protection" is a natural attribute. Protection is a result of the action of environment on those who, from their being "bred to win," possess the "might to can" (bioplasmatic irritability, or intelligence), and do protect themselves.

Nature is not an intelligence, and is void of sentiment as we understand that word. He who succeeds does so because "bred to win," because he possesses the might to can.

Let us ascend a step above the amœba on the ladder of evolution, limiting ourselves to the animal world. While in the protozoa we find this attribute dispersed over their entire bodies producing the three essential functions of life as a unit; as soon as we ascend to the infusoria, which live in almost the same manner, we find the actual differentiation of a protective intelligence has led to the develop-

ment, not only of special organs, but that these organs are those of active motion as well. The protozoa have no active motion in the sense which the infusoria have. Here also we find the first differentiation of a nervous system. This is well to remember. In the first differentiation of a nervous system that system is equally the first organ of motion by which the animal is enabled to flee from danger or seek food. This motor-intelligent system consists of an innumerable number of most delicate hairs all over the body, which by an innate nervosity keep up a continuous motion propelling the animal through the water with astonishing rapidity and, by touch only, keeping it away from dangers. Higher up the animal kingdom we find still further differentiation into a sort of central nervous system with terminations in the external surface of the body, but we still find this external ciliary guardian or protective, nervous arrangements quite well along the animal kingdom, for it is in the embryo flukes, an interesting liver parasite causing the so-called rot in sheep, where it, singular to say, also plays essentially the same sensitive protective, and in part motor rôle, as in the infusoria; and more singular still we find this ciliated arrangement of the exterior as an organ of protection in the embryo of *Amphioxus lanceolatus*, one of the most interesting objects in the animal kingdom—a worm with a backbone, which is assumed to form the connecting link between those animals having a backbone and those not. The mature amphioxus, however, loses these superficial, terminal, nervous appendages (probably they are but terminations of sensitive organs still present in the outside, cuticle) and has a central nervous system which connects directly with these exterior telegraph stations, nerve terminations, to warn it of danger.

Thus far in the animal kingdom the work of a nervous system (organization of protective intelligence) has been only to ward off danger when its superficial terminations come in contact with the threatening object, or near enough to it to feel its approach, and the body has become differentiated into a body cavity and a central nervous system; the whole is entirely composed either of cells or their products, and the personal of each cell still retains its natural nervosity (irritability) by which it nour-

ishes and reproduces itself; but those cells which have developed to specific functions, like muscle cells now receive their incentive to action in a much more complicated way, more nearly approaching our own ideas of the action of nervous irritability which we connect directly with the word intelligence. We have now three telegraph stations, the superficial, or minor, but most important in the protective sense, which feel the approach of danger, and by means of nerve fibres transmit a sensation or irritation, to what is known as the central or thoracic ganglion (which here represents the brain), which may be called the central intelligence station, and which again over nerve-wires transmits the same irritation to the minor centres in the muscle-cells, which contract at once and the animal moves out of the way.

Now what more does a horse or a man do except in degree. As with the protozoic unit of plasma, these much higher evolutionized animals can only—

1. *Eat to protect their lives*, and appetite is the result of the irritability of the cells of the organism caused by hunger.

2. They eat more than they need for themselves so as to supply material to

3. Reproduce themselves.

But as the environment becomes more exacting and the difficulties to sustain life harder to overcome, we find them met by more heterogeneity of structure, greater differentiation of organs and multiplicity of functions. We find this complexity of evolutionary development all along the line of zoological species. The two sets of organs in which these conditions are most manifest are, however, those of intelligence (nervous irritability) and motion, though the others follow suit in corresponding ratio. We find the nervous organization differentiated into a head centre of reception, reflection and initiation of energies, the brain, and into a continued centre of intermediate dispatch and reception, the spinal chord, which sends out its nervous cables to every part of the system, consisting of two kinds of wires, nerve fibrils centrifugal, or those which take messages from the brain especially to the organs of motion the muscles, and centripetal, which take the messages of felt dangers from the external

parts to the cord, from which they find their way to the brain, which again sends its centrifugal messages to the muscles, that the individual may be moved away from the threatening, painful or unpleasant environment. We find limbs with strong bones, elastic muscles under the control of this nervous intelligence, a complicated, respiratory circulation and digestive apparatus and a no less complicated organization for the continuation of the species, merely because the new individual must be more complicatedly developed ere ushered into these more exacting environments.

We find a complicated muscular system; a respiratory and circulatory system; we find that instead of the early protozoic system of reproduction by simple and momentary fission, that while this process is still present instead of taking place on one cell, it takes place on thousands, and that these cells differentiate into the organs of the body, each with its specific work to do, and one finds that it takes weeks or months for the organism to reach maturity, but heterogeneous as its structure, complex as its functions, they are no more and no less when summed up than those of the simple protozoon; it takes infinitely more machinery to do the work, that is all.

The most accomplished man can only: Work to support, feed and protect himself against the vicissitudes of his environment.

He can only reproduce his kind and care for them until they can take care of themselves.

He must work for them and himself too.

The protozoon does all that, and in a much simpler manner. Let me interpolate here that all the above is *individualism*, and that individualism is the natural result of the action of untrammelled laws of nature. Bear that in mind for a time!

Though many connecting links had to be necessarily left out, enough have been brought to light to show the relation between the intelligence and motor systems, and that their entire place in the animal economy is *self-protection*.

In this very cursory way I have simply indicated the general course which the coequal evolution of irritability, complexity of structure and variation of intelligence has

taken. The degree indicated, however, is only that of the thoroughly wild man, and but little superior to that of other wild mammalia. It is not necessary to develop the subject farther. Every one at all conversant with the work in science to-day can do it for himself. As indicated above, so far as man is concerned, each preceding generation makes an environment more severe for the coming one, or in truth has made it thus far in the world's history. Man is now pretty well master of what we may call the available or useful natural environments. At present, however, he has not even attempted to overcome the most severe of all, the environment of man by man. "While monarch of all he surveys" in a very large sense, man is still a slave to ignorance regarding himself. The most severe environment now to be overcome by the human race is that fetich known as God and the whole of that unnatural machinery known as the superstition of theological tradition. There can be no freedom to the human race until it has freed itself from its most oppressive fetich God, and recognized the fact that man is God and God is man, but being that, that the most divine act he is capable of is absolute but intellectual self-subjugation to the laws of nature so far as they pertain to himself, even as he has largely learned to subject nature to his own use (animal and vegetable) according to her own laws, and improve on the results, by an intellectual artificial selection. In this regard man's intellect is the environment which has worked the completion or extra-natural perfection, which makes such products so highly useful to himself.

The influence of the environment on living material has not only been the chief factor in unfolding or developing the intelligence of man, but in causing morphological changes in species by which it is almost impossible for the uneducated man to realize the connection between the individuals now extant and the remains of individuals of the same species found in geological strata. Changes in environment due to cataclysms in nature have so altered the geographical and botanical conditions that many species have been unable to adapt themselves to them and have become extinct, as shown somewhat in the discoveries made in mining or digging beneath the earth's surface; but more particularly in the natural strata in

mountains and valleys. Such remains are sometimes exposed by natural convulsions. The most striking example of the influences of changes in environment on the form, size and shape of animals known to us at present is in connection with the horse. The earliest and simplest animal related to the present horse is a small, fox-like object, with three digits or toes found in a very remote zoological period and known as the *Eo-hippus*. The only reliable data which these remains give to the pæleontologist is to be sought in the teeth. Slowly but surely the remains of the solipeds have been traced up, gradually increasing in size, and eventually losing the median and lateral toes, until in the horse of to-day we have only the two "splint" bones as useless reminders of those early conditions. Atavism, or breeding back even now occurs, and in circuses we now and again see three-hoofed horses, sometimes on one leg, sometimes on two. Those specimens which I have seen have always been on the fore feet. Changes in environments have caused these changes in the horse. But, the horse thus evolved bore no relation to the magnificent thorough-bred, the flying trotter, the noble draft-horse of to-day, any more than wild cattle, wild hogs, or wild goats bear anything but a morphological and physiological resemblance to the grand beef-breeds, the Short-horn, Hereford, or Angus, or the wild hog to the Berkshire, Poland, China, Essex or other famous breeds, or the wild sheep to the Merino and other breeds; or the wild cattle in docility and milk-producing qualities to the Jersey, the Guernsey or the Dutch cattle. These wonderful changes from wild forms and conditions have been the work of an extra natural environment, the intelligence of man, who, by artificial selection has forced the animals to become adapted to conditions and produced changes suitable even to his changing whims and fancies. It is a law of nature, that while environment has been the stimulus to and means by which change of characteristics suitable to survival in changed conditions has been brought about, that heredity has been the means of giving them a certain degree of fixity of character so long as the environment remains unchanged.

Under natural conditions such changes take place very slowly, requiring ages for their completion, but under arti-

ficial conditions and with a rigid regard for selecting what comes nearest to his desires, man often works very marked changes in a comparatively short time.

How many of those who visited the Chicago Fair and saw there the Bushmen, Hottentots or Dahomians, or whatever unfortunate barbarians were there on exhibition, thought for a moment that in the dim and misty past they too descended from similar ancestors? If so told they would probably deny it as much as they resent the Darwinian idea that man has ascended from some ape-like ancestor. Probably the phylogenetic relation of the "wild-man" of to-day to the higher apes is no more distant than is that of our most highly evolved men to the Hottentots and other living wild human species. That which stands in the way of man's comprehending the truth, of his aversion to knowing it, is that theological fetich which the majority still believe in, that man was created at the fiat of God, a perfect man, and through the connivance of unfortunate woman, has been falling and deteriorating ever since. The superstitious reverence for theological tradition which two-thirds of the so-called civilized races still believes, the scale which must be removed from their intellects and which binds them in the chains of a benighted slavery.

The environment of prehistoric man was of the simplest kind, and his intellect of the same nature. He cultivated nothing: scarcely realized what life and death were: had no conception of the struggle for existence. His life was simple and without care. The old saying has truth: "Ignorance is bliss; 'tis folly to be wise." Wisdom brings trouble. The greater the development of the intelligence, the more solemn does life become, and the more do we become aware of its perils and responsibilities. It is admitted by all scientists without dispute, that the individual life—ontogenesis—of any of the higher animals, inclusive of man, that is, from the first moment of development in the ovum to the completion of the foetus, is but the compendial repetition of the history of life,—from its lowest forms to the highest and most complicated—phylogenesis. The babe of to-day, at a few years old, is in about the same condition, intellectually, as our pre-historic ancestors. It knows nothing; it com-

prehends not the perils of life or dangers of death. It has no individual responsibility. It is free from care. We see this again in the lowest grades of society among us, and suffer ourselves from it. They have little or no self-responsibility. It's all "good God, good Devil," with them. The higher developed man becomes, the more does he feel the responsibilities of life. We see the fact again in the remorseless production of children among the poor and uneducated in comparison to the more intelligent in life. The greater the appreciation of life's responsibilities the greater the endeavor to provide against and meet them. Gradually but slowly this fact is impressing itself on all classes of humanity in civilized countries; but in direct ratio to the development of their intelligence. The concurrence of human environment is now the chief cause in the development of a broader and more complicated intelligence in man. Each advancing age demands that man knows more in order to successfully survive in this great individual struggle, which, of itself, practically contradicts the fatherhood of God, and emphasizes the contradiction that "the Lord takes care of those who take care of themselves."

INDIVIDUALISM.

In the march of human evolution we find two factors or forces constantly standing in opposition to each other. They are both in and of man. The one is known as individualism, the other as socialism. The chief trouble has been that man has not fully comprehended the part either one of these factors is unconsciously playing with what we may call his fate. The so-called individualists do not seem to comprehend the real essentials of socialism, nor do the socialists appreciate the true value of individualism. They stand as opposing forces over against one another. Social scientists do not comprehend that they must really look to individualism for the key-notes by which to mutually adjust the affairs of man to his improvement. While both are the result of the action of natural forces in man, individualism may be claimed to be a purely natural result, while socialism is more of an artificial one. Individualism may be termed the reaction of man in relation to his environment. Socialism constitutes the

human essentials of that environment. It is men against man. Individualism, again, is that general characteristic of man which enables him to adapt himself to, and make himself equal to the emergencies of his environment. Socialism should be the same thing as regards man as a man. We speak of a man having a great deal of individuality, or of lacking in it, in accordance with his display of those characteristics which cause him to succeed in the struggle for existence. It is a general physical law that action and reaction are equal, but opposite in direction. It is a social law that when the reaction of the individual is not equal to that of his environment on him, that he succeeds or fails in a corresponding degree. This is why the "survival of the fittest" is a comparative law and not a cast-iron and exact one. There are different degrees of fitness, as there are varying conditions of survival. The chief obstacle to so-called Christian nations, at least, comprehending these two forces at their true value has been the untoward influence of the theological fetich which extends its discouraging tendrils into all human affairs. It may be said to be the chief cause of all the errors and misunderstandings of socialism. As has been repeatedly said, altruism is contradicted by all natural phenomena in relation to life, more especially human. The history of creation as published in the Bible is a most wonderful attempt to explain the inequalities in human beings if correctly appreciated. Leaving entirely out of consideration the allegation that "the Lord created man out of the dust of the ground," we have in the first chapter, the statement, that God created man and woman equally at the same fiat, and at once ordered them "to be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth." In that no difference was seen between man and woman. But time, probably ages, elapsed, and man had become acquainted with the evils and vicissitudes of life and living. While, as we do, he recognized that the outward appearances of nature are not only beautiful, but eminently adapted to the uses of man, when he is able to make use of them; he also found that life was no play, that it was a most serious game, interrupted by disease, pestilence, wars, cruelties, famine, earthquakes, floods, storms and other cataclysms of nature.

This condition of things was and still is the chief cause of the birth, or development, and continuance of theology by the race. Some explanation had to be found for them. Then grew up the tradition, which soon became a superstition, that God created man first "and put him in the Garden of Eden to dress and to keep it." Just how this idea came about it is difficult now to understand, unless it be that thus early in human history it had been observed that "man alone" was a useless factor in the fulfilment of that earlier command to "multiply and replenish the earth." For, the records tell us, that the Lord soon found that "it is not good that man should be alone," and soon afterward made woman from the rib of man, thus riveting the chains of a slavery which has no equal in human history. Just why woman should bear all the blame for destroying the domestic peace of the garden is not so evident, for even in this case she must have been produced to carry out the letter of the first fiat "to be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth." The only grounds for this condemnation of woman must be sought in the fact that in performing her part in the fiat she is the chief factor in the continuance of the species, and not daring to blame their chief fetich (God) the early theologians put all the blame on poor woman for all "the ills human flesh is heir to." A beastly, cowardly proceeding! Theology has really never recognized individualism in either man or woman, but particularly has it endeavored to stifle and stamp out every individualistic characteristic of woman; founding itself on that soured brute, Paul of Tarsus, and really denying, like Peter, the nobler spirit of the gospels. Theology creates all men equal, but not women equal to men: in fact, it has done its utmost to keep woman strangled in the bonds of its iniquitous superstition. The strength of theology is the ignorant subjection of woman to its superstitions. The emancipation of woman will be the death of the church. Man has only been "too glad" to pay tribute to the theological Cæsar so long as he kept woman the willing and obedient minister to his pleasures and comforts. Theology to the contrary, "all men" were not at the outset and never have been "created equal." This inequality has been the rock of dispute on

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which theology has been largely shattering itself to pieces in its vain endeavors to explain its own inconsistencies. It has tried, in desperation, to explain why some were so created as to be "masters of all creation" and others to suffer the miseries of life. It has vainly tried to explain why some died young and others lived to "a green old age" and were always prosperous. Theology was thus struggling with the devil of its own creation, the foundation stone on which its rotten superstructure rests, ignorance. The endeavor to satisfactorily explain these different conditions, even in members of the same family, has been the cause of the differentiation of the churches.

The theologians have been constantly busy in endeavoring to account to the people for the inconsistent vagaries of that fetich whom they call "God the Father." The inquisition, and all later institutions of a similar though less active fiery character, was the attempt of the Roman church to stamp out every other fetich save the one it claimed to have a mortgage on. Protestantism was the endeavor of a lot of rebellious and more rational fetich worshippers for an equal possession of the throne of traditional grace and earthly emoluments. No more desperate endeavor to account for the inequalities of men in all directions, for the early death of children, and the miseries of life, has ever been attempted than that of Calvin and orthodoxy in general. Their efforts would have reacted on their originators but for the lucky existence of another fetich, ready-made and to hand from Jewish mythology, the vicarious atonement of the chief fetich, God, for the weaknesses and miseries of his own creation through the person of himself, in "his beloved Son the Lord Jesus Christ." The earnestness with which the theologians of the 17th and 18th centuries struggled with their own ignorance is most commendable. They were human as we are. Their reason rebelled, even as ours does, against the cruelties of the fetich whom they ignorantly and superstitiously served. They loved their children, their wives, their friends, as we do. The rationalist of to-day can scarcely comprehend the absolute necessity the fetich Christ the Saviour was to these men. It was the only ray of the sun of intelligence which relieved the terrible darkness of their ignorance and superstition

But, even then, they almost doubted the power of God and Jesus combined to save the dead in immortality. The grave never entirely lost its sting to them. Reason constantly rebelled, to be crushed by theological superstition. "The sting of death is sin," and the grave always had the victory. They never could comprehend how even God could remove the soul entirely from all the miseries of earth. Reader, I suppose you doubt this. Listen to a refrain from the 17th century.* It is a poetical description of "infant damnation," and the survival of "the elect."

THE LOVE OF GOD WHICH PASSETH UNDERSTANDING.

"Then to the bar, all they drew near who died in infancy,
And never had of good or bad effected pers'nally,
But from the womb unto the tomb were straightway carried.
Or, at the last, e'er they trangrest who thus began to plead :
If for our own transgressions, or disobedience
We here did stand at thy left hand, just were the recompense,
But Adam's guilt our souls hath spilt, his fault is charged on us :
And that alone hath overthrown, and utterly undone us.
Not we, but he, ate of the tree, whose fruit is interdicted :
Yet on us all of his sad fall, the punishment's inflicted.
How could we sin that had not been, or how is his sin our,
Without consent, which to prevent we never had a power ?
O Great Creator, why was our nater depraved and forlorn ?
Why so defil'd, and made so vil'd whilst we were yet unborn ?
Behold we see Adam set free, and saved from his trespass,
Whose sinfull fall hath spilt us all, and brought us to this pass.
Canst thou deny us once to try, or grace to us to tender,
When he finds grace before thy face, that was the chief offender ?"

There can be no question that the reverend author of the above lines must have been deeply stirred up when he wrote the pleading words for some dead child. His reason rebelled ! Theological superstition prevailed ! It is hard to see what appreciation the theology of that day had for the Gospel Jesus, who so loved little children, that he said, "unless ye be as little children ye cannot enter the kingdom of heaven." No heretic on earth, past or present, ever denied Christ as the theologians of that day and those branded with the same stamp do to-day. They were worse than Peter. They have not yet

* Extract from the "Day of Doom," by Rev. Michael Wigglesworth of Boston.—*Arena*, Dec, 1892.

repented. All honor to Professor Briggs! May the heretics "multiply and replenish the earth" and all the theologies be condemned to that damnation they have so freely vented on others. I have not said theologians. Listen to the answer the theological ignoramus puts into the mouth of that Christ with whom he was undoubtedly unacquainted!

"What you call old Adam's fall, and only his trespass,
 You call amiss to call it his, both his and yours it was.
 He was design'd of all mankind, to be a publick head,
 A common root whence all should shoot, and stood in all their stead.
 He stood and fell, did ill or well, not for himself alone,
 But for you all, who now his fall, and trespass would disown.
 If he had stood, then all his brood had been established
 In God's true love never to move, nor once awry to tread :
 Would you have grieved to have received through Adam so much
 good,
 As had been yours forever more if he at first had stood ?
 Since, then, to share in his welfare, you could have been content,
 You may with reason share his treason and in the punishment.
 You sinners are, and such a share as sinners may expect,
 Such you shall have ; for I do save none but my own elect.
 Yet to compare your sin with their who liv'd a longer time,
 I do confess yours is much less, though every sin's a crime.
 A crime it is, therefore in bliss you may not hope to dwell,
 But unto you I shall allow the easiest room in hell."

How many fathers and mothers, proclaiming themselves to be Christians are really aware that "they lie in their hearts" when they subscribe to such insulting stuff as that? Thousands do! That is the infernal, life-damning theology of the Presbyterian conference, which tried Briggs, and still said by a majority to be the "word of God." Let every rational self-respecting man and woman unite to dethrone the superstition, God, from man's intelligence. I would as soon damn my child to a house of prostitution as to congeal her intelligence by sending her to an orthodox Sunday school.

Let us listen to a little more of this song of joy!

"The godly wife conceives no grief, nor can she shed a tear,
 For the sad fate of her dear mate, when she his doom doth hear.
 He that was erst a husband pierc'd with sense of wife's distress
 Whose tender heart did bear a part of all her grievances,
 Shall mourn no more as heretofore, because of her ill plight ;
 Although he see her now to be a damn'd forsaken wight.

The tender mother will own no other of all her numerous brood,
But such as stand at Christ's right-hand acquitted through his blood.

The pious father had now much rather his graceless son should lie
In hell with devils, for all his evils, burning eternally,
Than God most high should injury, by sparing him, sustain ;
And doth rejoice to hear Christ's voice adjudging him to pain.
Who having all, both great and small, convinced and silence'd,
Did then proceed their doom to read, and thus it uttered :
Ye sinful wights, and cursed sprites, that work iniquity,
Depart together from me forever to endless misery ;
Your portion take in yonder lake, where fire and brimstone flameth ;
Suffer the smart, which your desert as its due wages claimeth.
What ? to be sent to punishment, and flames of burning fire,
To be surrounded, and eke confounded with God's revengeful ire !
What ? to abide, not for a tide these torments, but forever :
To be released, or to be eased, not after years, but never.
Oh fearful doom ! now there's no room for hope or help at all :
Sentence is past which aye shall last. Christ will not it recall.
There might you hear them rend and tear the air with their outcries,
The hideous noise of their sad voice ascendeth to the skies.
They wring their hands, their caitiff hands, and gnash their teeth for
terror ;
They cry, they roar for anguish sore, and gnaw their tongues for
horror.
But, get away without delay, Christ pities not your cry :
Depart to Hell, there you may yell, and roar eternally.
Die fain they would, if die they could, but death will not be had.
God's direful wrath their bodies hath forever immortal made."

Did human reason ever assent to such stuff? Talk about the "unfortunate heathen," what image of their Gods ever portrayed a more terrible picture than that? Why such people did not commit suicide is a mystery? Had they actually believed what they thoughtlessly endorsed, life and living would have been a thousand-fold bitterer than it really is.

If they believed what they affirmed what is the vilest murderer to any man or woman who would undertake to produce a child? You tell me "no one believes that way now!" I answer, two-thirds of the orthodox creeds support that stuff "line upon line, and precept upon precept." I have heard it preached within a very few years and there is not a city or township in the country where it is not endorsed in some church of the "living" fetich to-day. The trouble is nine-tenths of the nominal Christians do not know what they believe, except they think they believe in God and Christ. They are victims of

blind adherence to a theological superstition merely because it has come down to them, and was "good enough for a father and mother," who also knew nothing about it. If theological Christianity could be put to the test of educated reason among a people there would not be a Christian in the land. The trouble is, there is mighty little educated reason among us. The reason people do not realize "what it is to be a Christian" is, that in this active life of ours, they are so busy looking out for self on earth, that when the time comes to look out for self "in heaven," they grasp the traditional rope and swing off—dead. The place where they once were knows them no more. The deistic-rationalist tells us the above "is not a fair description of God." Who shall be the judge? Did the Calvinists of the 17th century, will the Presbyterians, Romanists, and Baptists of to-day tell us the same? Dare they tell the world that that is not the God of to-day? They dare not! They would hang Briggs for doing that very thing if they could. Professor Briggs may not realize it, but it is the power of the Romanists and Materialists and Indifferents which saved his neck. The deistic-rationalist does not seem to be aware that with the humanization of God he is entirely disappearing. The next step is "pure religion and undefiled," absolute materialism. The Romanists know this, and are not afraid to admit it. The Protestants know it too, but dare not admit it. The Romanist has the best of the argument so far as they both are concerned.

If it had not been that looking out for self on earth, and self-gratification, even in the past centuries, overpowered traditional superstition, those people must have all committed suicide. Their daily lives absolutely contradicted their theological belief. They practiced "Jesusism" among themselves even though they "crucified the Christ" theoretically.

Is it not true, then, that individualism contradicts theology from the beginning to the end? Individualism is consistent with and part and parcel of evolution. I defy any one to show me that a system of traditional superstition which begins with many Gods and dissolves itself in the attributes of a loving mother is anything but a "freak" in evolution.

Individualism represents all those characteristics in a living thing, man or animal, by which it equalizes the opposition of its environment and triumphs over it. Confucius taught the same natural law when he said: "In the evolution of living things nature can only develop such qualities in them. She furnishes proper nourishment to those that stand erect and tramples on those who lie prostrate." If our "reformers" would only learn that lesson it would be easier to teach the people how to overcome nature. To a necessary degree physical strength is requisite, but the most essential element is intellectual activity. We see that in such cases as the late Jay Gould in comparison to many an unfortunate mountain of strength on our streets. The more man has advanced the more do his "wits" tell in overcoming environment. This is an age when intellectual sharpness in a self-protecting sense is being called on more than at any other time in man's history. Brains tell! No, brains do not always tell. It depends on the kind of brains. That brain which is so constructed that the "looking out for self" attributes are well or fully developed wins in a corresponding degree. Vicarious brains, those so built that they find their greatest pleasure in looking out for others, are an almost useless commodity in the human product. They only win when united with theological superstition. They only "win" bread then because of the ignorance of the real bread-winner, who contributes his tithes to fetich worship on account of his belief in a supersitition because his ancestors did.

"BRED TO WIN."

Can any three words in any language express more? They express a fact. They are not founded on any theory. Neither is how the winning has been done, what it is or has been due to, a matter of theory. It is true of the winners in the savage struggles for existence in untrammelled nature, and of man equally in the more outwardly and superficially refined struggle for success, in the battles of the great social warfare which wages and has ever been waged in the evolution of our race. It is true of our amœboid ancestors and true of ourselves. It is

true of the high-bred race-horses on the track, of the thorough-bred short-horn at the competitive shows, of the game-cock or game-dog in the pit. It is true universally. There is something in us all which gives respect to the winner in any field. No matter how much opposed to the practice we may be, we cannot but have a certain respect for the Corbetts and Sullivans of the fistic arena, for we know that in them the same primary, natural principle rules: *they were bred to win*. Had this not been so, they could not have won. No amount of physical training, no amount of intellectual training, no amount of the most favorable environments can make the so-called "duffer" win. A winner in any field, from the wilds of the natural jungle to the cultivated and refined arena of the philosophical hall, cannot be and never has been mongrel-bred. To "breed to win" is the safety-key with which to unlock the door and open the way to the solution of the terrible inequalities of the great social problems now facing the world. The one primary reason why almost, if not fully, 50 per cent., of the human race are incapable of self-sustenance in the severe social struggle of the present day is to be sought in the utter neglect of this, the most profound and far-reaching of all natural laws.

Every effect, favorable or unfavorable, which may be observed in individuals under natural condition is the result of the action of fixed laws. We cannot think of results in untrammelled nature as the effects of active intelligence. We cannot comprehend the existence of any other intelligence than that which results from the action of animal (nervous) tissue. That which is incomprehensible has no existence for an educated and intelligent mind. Whatever has resulted in perfecting fixity of type and strong and enduring qualities either in individuals or species has been the outcome of the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence.

The method by which this natural selection has been effected is in reality the only scientific method by which we can hope to achieve any equally favorable results in the breeding of man or animals. It is the individualistic method. Practically this natural method defines itself in the popular expression. "Every one for himself, and

the devil take the hindmost," which is absolutely the only way by which individual success can be attained. Individualism, again, is but the manner in which an individual expresses its individuality in relation to its environment, which includes all competing individuals. In untrammelled nature this necessary individualism has invariably been the result of that weeding-out process by which the weaklings (or those not possessing the requisite individuality to survive against the influences of every kind of environment, have been forced to the wall. Unfortunately, they cannot at once perish. They eke out a more or less miserable existence, and, true to that invariable law that "like produces like," or, more correctly speaking, similar produces similar, they too can and do produce offspring which are bred to lose, and thus finally such die out, and by natural selection a stronger and more vigorous species is produced. But one thing must be remembered; the elemental structure in the stronger species or breed is exactly the same as in the weaker, which went to the wall. The difference which establishes the individualism is of a physiological, qualitative nature and not an anatomical. Both as breeders of animals and human beings we need to remember this, for some persons are very prone to think that the structure of the successful one is anatomically different and possesses some wondrous mysterious element that those lacking individuality do not have. Let me illustrate by an example.

A strong, well-made, farmer's son goes to the university and studies hard, neglecting physical exercise almost entirely. His body emaciates, his muscles become lax, and he returns home where he has a twin brother, his exact counterpart, physically, who has remained on the farm. The father sets the two boys to perform a common task, demanding an equal amount of physical exertion. His student son is unable to do the work, and the thoughtless father looks at his arms and hands and thinks something is wrong—that something has been lost—they are so shrunk. Certainly something has been lost; it is material to work with, food for the muscles, but not muscular elements in themselves; for if the boy continues to labor, the elements—cells—again take up food, fill out, and he again acquires the strength he has temporarily lost.

But let us keep on further in our illustration. The student son continues his student life; he feeds his brain by exercise, for neither brain nor muscles will take up their full quantity of food without exercise, and neglects his body, though, at the same, time he becomes one of the great prodigies of some city. In this environment he continues and he marries a hot-house flower, brought up under the same conditions and equally intelligent. Let us assume that this condition, with no attention to physical needs, continues through several generations; what is the result? Sterility, or children with so little physique that they cannot live to arrive at maturity; consumptives, or idiots, it matters not. That is one way paupers and asylum inmates are produced. Now to our brother left on the farm, who starves his brains and feeds his muscles and marries a girl brought up under similar environment. What comes to pass there under the same conditions? The brain has been starved for generations, and, if not actual idiots, poor things, born only to lose in the struggle for existence, are produced. This is the other way to produce paupers and fill asylums. Starting equally, such breeding is of the kind which breeds to lose; that is, the inbreeding of losing characteristics. No intelligent breeder of animals practices such principles. Man does for man only. Not for money. On the other hand, the coequal feeding of all the parts of the body by mutual exercise; the selection of mates physically perfect and equally well bred and subjected to the same environments, must as invariably lead to the production of individuals bred to win.

The stock-raiser knows this, but nowhere is it being so well illustrated and practically applied as in the breeding of the American trotter. I desire to call attention to the fact, which I challenge any one to dispute, that natural inbreeding is not necessarily consanguineous: that natural individualism is the product of the inbreeding of the winning characteristics of the survivors in the struggle for existence, and that so long as the selection is kept up to the fullest rigidity of an exacting environment, with abundance of food for the physical individual, that even the most incestuous breeding could not and cannot produce evil results.

It is imbecilic inbreeding, utterly regardless of selection or environment, which the thoughtless worshippers of past authority are continually flaunting in our faces. Any one who will study Darwin (and other reliable observers on this subject) will at once see that breeders who condemn inbreeding have bred far more for a fancy object (which is the same as the marriage among the "ups" in society, utterly regardless of anything but money and position) than anything else, and have almost entirely failed in considering the selection of the necessary physical characteristics, and, still more, have neglected to consider environment with that rigid exactness with which each play their part in producing individuals "bred to win" under natural conditions. Darwin himself is inclined to the same opinion, and seems always to be skeptical as regards the real dangers of inbreeding. He is always cautious in calling positive attention to the "environment." His worshipers have not seen this point. Nature shows it is the all-essential one by which the elect only are selected. Again I say that inbreeding, under natural conditions, must of necessity be one of characteristics *in toto*, utterly regardless of consanguinity or anything else. Otherwise, the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence would be a farce, and evolution into more adapted forms an impossibility.

In consideration of the continued development of individualism, under natural conditions a most essential factor is generally lost sight of, probably because the phenomena are so seldom open to the study of the ordinary man.

The factor is this: Given an equal perfection of development in all things purely physical, the acme of individualistic survival must ever be sought in the fact

THAT BRAINS WIN.

In other words, he who would survive in the struggle for existence, other things being equal, must be bred not only with brains as a fact, but qualitatively they must be of the highest order. How many people realize that, in the fights of the jungle among wild beasts, it is the brainiest which win. It is the brainiest savage with a

"level head" who wins the fight; so it is of the cock in jungle with nature's armament; so of the bulldog in the pit; so it was with Corbett when he "knocked out" that physically superior giant, John L. Sullivan. So it is on the race-track; so it is on 'Change; in the realm of science, anywhere and everywhere, brains win when all else is equal.

A quite noted breeder of trotting horses recently said: "Before we can breed extreme speed to a certainty we would have to have the laws of nature changed so that each foal would be of the same size, with bone and muscle and vital organs to exactly correspond. Then they would speed just the same as watches or locomotives built at the same manufactory." That is only true in part, and absolutely false as regards changing the laws of nature. Not the laws of nature must be changed, but man needs to be so changed that he can apply them as exactly as they apply themselves in nature under those exacting conditions by which the monarchs of the jungles are produced. Other things being equal, it is that unknown quality which gives unlimited yet controlling force to the intelligence which proves an animal or man has been bred to win.

The attempt to compare the trotter with a "watch or locomotive out of the same factory" is rather unfortunate. Every watchmaker knows that no two watches run exactly alike, though all made by the same dies and plans, and alike in appearance. It is also well known, by those having experience, that, from the same factory and turned out, so far as known, in identically the same manner, an occasional watch is produced which runs with such exactness as to be phenomenal. Strive as mechanics may to repeat at will these phenomenal achievements they cannot. The same is true of locomotives out of the same shop and built after the same plans. It is the occasional one only in which that unknown nicety of adjustment, a part to part so exactly "knicks" that all look on in wonder at its performance. It has often happened that on such a phenomenal machine having to be sent to the shop and taken to pieces for repairs, that that same delicate relation of all the parts could never again be attained and the phenomenon becomes a commonplace machine. What

is this which no man can see or human skill discover? Certainly it is not an intelligence in the machine, be it watch or locomotive, and yet there is a force there present which can well be compared to that unknown adjustment of brain-energy which determines the destiny of the phenomenal man or trotter? Though the word means nothing, still it is handy in such cases, and all we can say that there is a spiritual affinity, correlation of part to part, which insures this perfection of action. All I desire to do is to locate this property. Do not forget that that which wins is in the brains and not the heart, blood, muscles or bones or lungs, when these organs are in perfect physical condition.

Assuming that Athol, now three years old, and Worth, also the same age, are equally sound, equally well built to their respective elder brother and sister, Arion, 2:10 $\frac{1}{4}$, at two years old, and Sunol, 2:15 $\frac{1}{4}$, at the same age; assuming that they have been handled in as nearly as possible the same manner and also by the same men; and also that Athol had a record of 2:20 and Worth the same at two years old, to what must we attribute the fact that they each have not equaled their illustrious brother and sister? I say brains! That the driving and controlling power is greater and better adjusted in the latter than the former animals. Education will do much, as we see in the cases of Jay-eye-see and Direct, who both exceeded their trotting records, the 2:10 of the former at a trot being 2:06 $\frac{1}{4}$ at a pace, Direct's trotting record being 2:18 $\frac{1}{4}$, while at the pace he went in 2:05 $\frac{1}{4}$.

Again, I say the quality, character of the brains made this wonderful change possible. Not only must the individuals have brains to drive the machine, but in order to perform phenomenal work, the quality must be such as to control every energy during the entire moments of severe action. All does not depend on the driver by any means. The conditioning does. But the ability not to overtrot and stay there at extreme speed is in the brains of the performer, or else all fast ones would be nearer equal, there would be no such sensational ones. It is brains which make the winning trotter even more than any typical form, always assuming soundness and physical condition to be equal to the demands of the brains. "They go

fast in all shapes," is an old axiom. Look at little Mollie Morris, one of the queens of the days of yore; small, with both fore-legs "out of one hole," as horsemen say, and yet she "got there." She was bred to win; she had brains. I truly believe that the trot, especially the flying trot, is the result of an inbred intelligence to trot and stay trotting a thousand times more than it is a matter of conformation. Physical strength and health are always a necessity to any phenomenal action, but it is the "brains that win," and the inbreeding of the instinct to trot and the quality to control the action like a balanced machine, which is the essential, all-predominant factor in the wonderful evolution of the American trotter. As I shall use the term "an accident" against a few records mentioned below, let me say that by "accident" I simply mean that the breeding of the animals was not due to that intelligent study which is now making its mark in the phenomenal production of extreme speed.

The history of the American trotter began, we may say, as a matter of record in

1806,	when an accident trotted in.....	2:59
1810	" " "	2:48½
1844	" " "	2:28
1859	" " "	2:19¾
1867	" " "	2:17¼

With that we will stop for a moment. Though accidents so far as man's intelligent control of their breeding was concerned, still it can be equally well said that each of these animals was "bred to win." While in one sense Hambletonian 10 may rightly be styled the "father of the American trotter," it can be asserted with equal truth that the stimulus to successful breeding must be sought in Dexter, who first attracted attention to the fact that extreme speed could only then be acquired by the use of mares with a high degree of nervous energy. This lesson was learned by comparing the breeding of Dexter and other colts by Hambletonian 10, out of Star, or similar bred mares with those out of common mares, even such as possessed what might be then called trotting-breeding. From Dexter's time the mare began to

assume some importance in the mind of the breeder, and instead of being looked upon as a sort of incubating machine, her breeding, her brains, her trotting instinct have become fully as important a factor to success as that of the sire.

As soon as the fact became apparent to breeders that it was brains which won, and that the brains must be sought in the dam as well as the sire, the intelligence to trot at extreme speed and to control that speed, we see a marvelous development in the American trotter, so marvelous that during the year 1892, about 2,300 new horses entered the "charmed circle," as the 2:30 list is called, and we have 122 animals which have trotted in 2:15 or better and a number that can beat 2:06, including Nancy Hanks with her record of 2:04, and Mascot with an equal record at the pace.

Any one who has lived through this period in the history of the development of the trotter knows full well that it was the "thoroughbred" in the dam of Dexter which taught the lesson how to breed trotters. I use the word "thoroughbred" in two senses this time. Not only do I mean in ancestral breeding that above all classes of horses the so-called thoroughbred, has that quality of brain which wins where speed and its continuance at a high rate are required for a given length of time. The instinct to trot was in Hambletonian 10, and the Clays, Bashaws and others, but those who will be honest know that nearly all "trotting-bred" horses of those days were big, slashing sprawlers and they had brains to trot with, but not brains to fly with and keep up the flight. So much the thoroughbred has done for the trotting horse, deny it who dare, until the time has come when, with the trotting instinct still more strongly inbred, we have inbred with it these intellectual qualities which do and dare (of the thoroughbred) from wire to wire or from "eend to eend of the race." Again, I say, always admitting soundness and condition as absolutely necessary, that it is this inbreeding of brain-characteristics which has made our trotter to-day approach as an average that phenomenal speed which attracted attention to the breeding of Dexter. If Hambletonian 10 put in the coal as the father of the trotting instinct in the American trotter, it was no less

the thoroughbred which sat on the safety valve and inspired the wanting steam and endurance to win. Without the "nerve" inspired by the thoroughbred the trotter of to-day would be but little better in point of speed than 2:30.

We all know that not only all breeders "breed to win," but are learning how to "breed to win." We see this manifested at all sales, and we buy on our judgment of the breeding presented to us, other things being equal. There is one danger breeders must avoid, and that is breeding to a sensational performer with a short pedigree. The better guide is the longest line of ancestors presenting the greatest average of extreme speed, with an occasional sensational performer on both sides. In this way the breeder obtains the utmost possible concentration of the trotting instinct with the greatest driving power and an equal degree of controlling energy.

It is singular to see so many human beings who deny that the same principles with equally intelligent application have any relation to man. "You can't breed men and women" is an assertion which has often been made to me. "The very idea of love contradicts it and makes it impossible," is another. Regards for the traditional theological fetich, that God started man perfect, is the cause of such absurdity. In other words, gross and unpardonable ignorance. It is so handy and natural to put the blame for our own acts anywhere but on ourselves. "God's will" is a happy "loop-hole" for the escape of both criminals and fools. Man claims for himself the proud title of "monarch of all he surveys." If he will look in the looking-glass he will see the one thing over which he has in reality no control. Himself!

THE SELF-MADE MAN'S FETICH.

The popular idea, that these things were all ordained for man at the primeval fiat by the great but unknown fetich, is well illustrated in a late newspaper article by ex-Senator Ingalls of Kansas, who says:

"The world has had few leaders who were born in the purple. Its real kings have not been the sons of kings. Its Napoleons have not descended from monarchs. The founders of its philosophies have

not been the children of philosophers, nor of its dynasties the heirs of emperors. The framers of the creeds, the inventors of the faiths and religions of the race have come from the manger, the forge and the carpenter's bench, and not from the church. The great captains have not sprung from warriors, and those who have composed the dramas, written the lyrics and pronounced the orations that are immortal have inherited neither their passion nor their eloquence. A pedigree may be gratifying to pride, but it is not consoling to ambition.

"Those who greatly succeed are not always those of whom success could be predicted. It is sometimes said in explanation of the caprices of destiny that circumstances make heroes, and that chance favors the victor. But the reverse is true. Men make circumstances. One seizes the opportunity that is offered to all. In the domain of law there can be no accidents. Every man goes to his own place. Village Hampdens and mute, inglorious Miltons are myths. There are no great men lying in ambush or lurking privily.

"The epitaph and eulogy abound in laudation of self-made men. There are no others. All men who are made at all are self-made. Books and schools cannot make men. Colleges, universities and professors afford men the opportunity to make themselves. Learning can make a pedagogue, knowledge can make a pedant, but

"A MAN MAKES HIMSELF."

No one does the utmost of which he is capable, except under the spur and thong of necessity. Poverty may be inconvenient and intolerable, but he who is born poor is fortunate. The leaders of thought, business and society in the coming generation will not be the gilded youth of 1893, faring sumptuously every day. The bankers, railroad presidents, statesmen and plutocrats of the 20th century will be the sons of the farmers and laborers who are striving against formidable obstacles and privations to enter in at the strait gate.

"To discriminate among the living would be ungracious, but if we inquire who, among the illustrious sons of the republic, have most ineffaceably stamped their mark upon our institutions and shaped the destinies of the nation, the answer would include few who were favored by birth or fortune. Washington seems like an exception, but his nativity was humble, his youth was spent in toil, and his great wealth, which made him the richest man in the country, came largely by inheritance.

"Lincoln and Jackson, among the presidents, Clay, Webster and Douglas among the statesmen of our first century, Grant, Greeley, Wilson, Governor Morton, Sheridan, Governor Andrew, Lloyd Garrison, Stevens and the men who directed the energies of the country in that momentous period from 1860 to 1880, were all of humble origin with no heritage but an honest name."

The above simply shows the ignorance of the author. In another place Ingalls speaks of poets "being born," and contradicts himself. To be sure he states facts, but those very facts go to prove the correctness of what I

have illustrated by discussing the breeding of horses. "Pedigree may be very gratifying to pride but is not consoling to ambition." Let me state that correctly! A pedigree which guarantees the desired qualities in the ancestors on both sides in ever-increasing, or with no marked inconsistency, intensity will never be found disappointing to ambition. The instances quoted by Mr. Ingalls with reference to the sons of distinguished men is most unfortunate. What about their wives? Has there ever been one such man who intelligently and without passion ever essayed to continue himself in his produce by the proper selection of a wife? It is not good sense to make nihilistic assertions on points which have never been intelligently attempted. Will Mr. Ingalls dare assert that the wonderful geniuses he speaks of as not reproducing themselves were "freaks"? Does he know really what a "freak" is? A thing which happens without cause! Such a thing never did happen! He talks about pedigree, what do we know of the pedigree of the men he had in mind? We know the names of their parents, grandparents, and perhaps more remote ancestors, but what do we know about them as individuals, their individualism? We do not know as much about the characteristics of the grandparents of any distinguished man as we do about those of the Godolphin Arabian, Briery Turk, Imported Messenger, or even the great Tecumseh—not the Indian chief, or General Sherman, but a Poland China boar. Then why condemn pedigree when pedigree, physical qualifications being equal, is the one standard on which man does depend when he wishes to succeed in demonstrating his greatest of all successes, horse-breeding—in improving on and subjecting nature to his will. Did we actually know the individualistic pedigree of winning men there would be no difficulty in comprehending where most of them come from. The only reason they are such luminous stars in the human firmament is that they had no demonstrable individualistic pedigree: there was no constancy in their "breeding lines." Like themselves, their parents married to suit a fancy and gratify passion. The result of the latter was never once thought of and scarcely is yet. The fetich took care of that at the first fiat. But have we no evidence of the nature of pedigree by which is really meant the breeding

in of desired characteristics, that is, such as win in the human family? Look at the Jews! While they have no registered pedigree in the stock-breeder's sense, they have been most fortunately forced, by fetich persecutions from Christians, to live as one people, which has led to the development of a self-looking-out-for individualism unknown in any others. Those having that characteristic to the most marked degree have been most successful and have formed a well justified "upper crust" of superb individualism. They intermarry! Have they deteriorated in the self-looking-out-for ability? Russia does not think so! The German admits their evident superiority. England has been forced to honor them. American cities point to their success. Have they no pedigree, no breeding? Few pedigreed animals have any better if as good! The great social "trick" of the world should be the breeding together of the most advanced and emancipated Jewesses with the descendants of that other example of pedigreed human stock, the Puritans in their most select examples. Keep that breeding up with rigid selection for a few years, and the ideal man will come pretty near resulting. I am ashamed of Mr. Ingalls. He came from New England. Has not the Adams family demonstrated the value of good crossing having held to Puritan lines? Have not many of the old Puritan families? Where or when they have degenerated has been because they have gone out of the old lines, or children have become ruined by luxurious environments produced by preceding generations. Those of their descendants who have family pride should stop this. Keep up the stock, select rigidly, breed the human race for winners, as we do horses, and not as the accidents of lust, and there will be no lack of established pedigree. But when men marry women merely for servants of a private nature, female lackeys, as has generally been and is still the case, it is not surprising that the results of such are not very creditable. The breeder well knows that "promiscuous crossing" is seldom successful. That is the way the human race breeds itself. Such breeding produces "freaks." We have further evidence of pedigreed breeding in the human family better than has been introduced. The theatrical profession gives the best examples. The younger Salvini breeds back to exceptionally compe-

tent performers for at least four, if not more, generations on both sides. So, to a varying degree, of the Booths, Kembles, Jefferson and many others. The children act, and act well. There is an abundance of evidence in the human family to show the necessity of in-breeding individualism if we desire to make any general success of this race of ours. Success in nature from the bacterium to man is only attained by that degree of self-power—individualism, which enables its possessor to triumph over every obstacle presented by the most adverse environment.

“GENIUS INSPIRED BY GOD.” *

“From Cæsar to Bismarck and Gladstone, the world has had its soldiers and its statesmen, men who rose to eminence and power step by step through a series of geometrical progression, as it were. Each promotion following in regular order, the whole obedient to well established and well understood laws of cause and effect.

“These were not what we call men of destiny. They were men of the time. They were men whose career had a beginning, a middle and an end, rounding off a life with a history, full, it may be, of interesting and exciting events, but comprehensible and comprehensive, simple, clear, complete.

“The inspired men are fewer. Whence their emanation, where and how they got their power, and by what rule they lived, moved and had their being, we cannot see. There is no explication to their lives. They rose from shadow, and they went in mist. We see them, feel them, but we know them not. They arrived, God’s word upon their lips, they did their office, God’s mantle about them, and they passed away, God’s holy light between the world and them, leaving behind a memory half-mortal and half-myth. From first to last they were distinctly the creations of some special Providence, baffling the wit of man to fathom, defeating the machinations of the world, the flesh and the devil until their work was done, and passing from the scene as mysterious as they had come upon it; Luther, Shakespeare, Burns, even Bonaparte, the archangel of war, havoc and ruin; not to go back

* Henry Watterson.

into the dark ages for examples of the hand of God stretched out to raise up, to protect and cast down.

"Tried by this standard and observed in an historic spirit, where shall we find an illustration more impressive than in Abraham Lincoln, whose life, career and death might be chanted by a Greek chorus as at once the prelude and the epilogue of the most imperial theme of modern times.

"Born as lowly as the son of God, in a hovel, of what real parentage we know not; reared in penury, squalor, with no gleam of light, nor fair surrounding; a young manhood vexed by weird dreams and visions, bordering at times on madness; without a grace, natural or acquired; singularly awkward, ungainly, even among the uncouth about him; grotesque in his aspects and ways; it was reserved for this strange being, late in life, without name or fame, or preparation, to be snatched from obscurity, raised to supreme command at a supreme moment, and intrusted with the destiny of a nation.

"The great leaders of his party were made to stand aside; the most experienced and accomplished public men of the day, men like Seward and Chase and Sumner, statesmen famous and trained, were sent to the rear, while this unknown and fantastic figure was brought by unseen hands to the front and given the reins of power.

"It is entirely immaterial whether we believe in what he said or did, whether we were for him or against him; that during four years, carrying with them such a responsibility as the world had never witnessed before, he filled the measure of the vast space allotted him in the actions of mankind and in the eyes of the world, is to say that he was inspired of God, for nowhere else could he have acquired the enormous equipment indispensable to his mission.

"Where did Shakespeare get his genius? Where did Mozart get his music? Whose hand smote the lyre of the Scottish ploughman and stayed the life of the German priest? God alone, and, as surely as these were raised up by God, inspired by God, was Abraham Lincoln; and a thousand years hence, no story, no tragedy, no epic poem, will be filled with greater wonder or be read with deeper feeling than that which tells of his life and death."

One must wonder if such an intelligent man as Mr. Waterson absolutely believes one word he has written about Lincoln as a special creation. Cæsar, Bismarck, Gladstone were as much "men of destiny" as Lincoln. Had there been no war, no political agitation dangerous to the Union, while local people and perhaps some few Americans might have known of a "Mr. Lincoln from Illinois" as a very bright man, it is as absolutely certain that the historic "Abe Lincoln" would never have been known to fame, as it is that an indolent, unsuccessful leather-dealer would never have become famous as General Grant. Environment made those men possible. What we want to know is how they were born and why their sons were not the equals of their fathers. Is "God" to blame for that? If "God" made the superb genius of Lincoln, who made the equally beneficial and no less profound genius of an Edison? Who made that most sublime of all geniuses, Darwin, before whom the record of the race almost pales into insignificance? Is "God" only to be credited as the author of that peculiar kind of genius which man honors because the most beneficial to him? Is he not as much to blame for the peculiar genius which almost baffles the ingenuity of man to arrest—the skillful thief? Is he not as much to blame for the imbecile and the lunatic? Queer Gods these people have! Once he created man and woman in his own image. Next he creates man and manufactures woman. Once he created all things. Once he was the God of all men. Now he is only the God of a peculiar "genius" manufactured in a newspaper office.

THE ARROGANCE OF SELF-MADE MEN.

The most arrogant of all the assumptions of egotistical individualism is that of those successful men who fondly think that they have made themselves, and that their success is entirely due to themselves. Did any one ever hear of a self-made woman? There have been hundreds, and soon will be thousands, but I fail to know of one who conceitedly claims, "I did it all." These self-made men forget their traditional fetich, who is said to have made the first man in absolute perfection as a fitting image of himself. They forget that their theology teaches them

that man has been deteriorating all the time. They are generally so ignorant that they know nothing of the laws of development, and when they do know much about them they do not think they apply to themselves. Many of them indulge their tastes by breeding the finest animals, in which regard they are indirectly, though not intentionally, of much benefit to their race, but no one ever heard of a self-made horse. Nancy Hanks is as much self-made as her owner, for his father made most of his money for him, or gave that assistance and advice by which he has been successful. Sunol is as much self-made as her liberal and vain breeder, the late Mr. Stanford, who has endowed a University, in dread fear that his name will be forgotten among men, and dedicated it to a fetich. Humanity gets the benefits, however, and this man is a fine example of the best that kind of individualism can do. Nancy Hanks, and Sunol are as individualistic as their respective owners or breeders. As noted previously, though we cannot establish the pedigree of such men, they have been "bred to win." They did not make themselves. Their ancestors made them.

" Our lives come to us from afar.
What our ancestors were
Makes us what we are."

The Buddhistic idea that "Each man's life the outcome of his former living is," expresses the same fact. If the elements of a superb individualism are not concentrated in an individual at the time of the fructification of the ovum by the male spermatozoön, nothing his parents can do later, nothing education can do, nothing he can do, can ever make him a prodigious success; and whatever he may be depends on the union of heredity potencies at that moment. These "self-made" men generally look with contempt at others less fortunately bred. They are the Pharisees of their time who "thank God they are not as other men are." They have generally been the Crucifiers of the Saviours of the world. They think themselves some special creation. When man knows himself they will be very common products. The trouble is they are so omnipresent that they make the less fortunate hate them. The latter is to blame in not seeing

that the trouble is in his ancestry and breeding, and not in the "other fellows." Theology, which created "all men equal" is to blame for that. Ignorance again!

The history of human individualism fully conforms to the history of evolution. Briefly stated it commenced with the isolated man and woman in the earliest days of man, but contrary to theology, was best manifested in the woman, as the head of the maternal family. Then it became more complex, with man as the head of the group, and finally we have group individualism, then tribal, with its chiefs, and finally national, with its monarch, both nation and ruler being most decidedly individualistic. All this is natural or crude individualism. It is invariably savage, brutal or inconsiderate. The evolution of man has resulted from it. The neglect to value it intelligently and apply it generally by breeding, is also one of the chief causes of human misery. The story of the fall of Adam must have been written after the days of matriarchy and when man had assumed himself to be the special and only descendant of his own image—God. In this extension of individualism it must be self-evident that it has become more and more complex in structure and heterogeneous in action, even as a nation is more than a state and a tribe more than a man, but so long as each is for self, with a reckless disregard for self at the same time, whether simple or heterogeneous, they are equally individualistic. Nationalism is but the magnification of the old saying: "That every cock must fight for his own dung-hill." It is the last limit of the savagery of crude individualism. It is losing itself gradually in a broad internationalism which shall recognize that the interests of nations are mutual in fact, even as nations and States, theoretically, do now for each citizen. Commerce has been and is the great humanizer of the world. When men can see or do see that self-advancement is but supported by self-supporting activities and not by inability produced by God and supported by charity, then we may expect general welfare. Politicians are a marked example of natural individualism. They stir up the fetich patriotism or partyism, in order to make jobs out of which to rob the people, because the people have not character enough to take care of themselves. They

feed local pride regardless of results in order to keep their jobs. They advocate useless war vessels and flatter the vanity of citizens in order to get votes and keep the party in power. They first favor by unjust protection and then pluck the manufacturers in order to oil the political machinery. Politicians and Priests graduated out of the same school of chicanery and falsehood. They live on the "boodle" wrung from ignorant worshippers of political or theological fetiches. Machine politics and machine theology are twin brothers. They thrive on ignorance and induce corruption on which they fatten. They represent to an extreme degree, that form of natural individualism which is so unintelligently reckless that it has not wit enough to see it is digging its own grave, self-protection, so excessive that it becomes dangerous to the actor.

SOCIALISM.

JUSTICE TO EACH PART IS NECESSARY TO THE SOLIDARITY OF THE WHOLE.

It has been said that individualism is natural, that is, it is the free and untrammelled manifestation of the individual as he or it is, utterly regardless of others. Socialism on the other hand is entirely artificial. It is not of man as an individual, but of men as individuals. Socialism should be scientific, and learn of individualism, which is natural. The development of the one is due to human energy and intelligence. All intelligent acts of men in a regulative sense, are the evolutionary outcome of crude individualism. The mistake of socialism has ever been that it has been utterly unscientific. The only student of social science, whom I know of, who ever expressed its guiding principle correctly, was Thomas Paine when he said, "If human precedents fail thee, friend, go back to nature and study her and think as if thou wast the first man who ever thought." Socialism has thus far failed to do this. It has been deductive instead of inductive. The natural results of individualism should form the experimental basis of socialism. It began with an hypothesis and has not proceeded much beyond spasmodic attempts. The fetich of socialism has been the equality of man. This much it has held to with the tenacity of a drowning man to a straw. It is the straw of traditional superstition that socialism must free itself from before it can come face to face with the facts. It has been seeing through a glass darkly. It has set itself ignorantly over against individualism instead of studying and learning from it. In this it has opposed nature. That is the quintessence of ignorance. It has been artificial and not scientific. It has looked on the results of individualism as cause, and not studied the thing itself. Science is the natural result of that psychic-phenomenon to which the word religion only applies, the recognition of cause in nature. Science is the next step, the endeavor to interpret cause. Like religion, science recognizes causes, and

does not limit cause to a traditional and undefinable Unknown. Science is the bitter opponent of theology. Let us have no compromise! Let's have the truth! Science is the highest evolved fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. It is the only true light man has yet produced. Science is evolutionary. Theology traditional. Theology itself admits it began in darkness. Science was the first light. Religion and science will pass out as one. They are facts, not superstitions. The majority of socialists are ready for science. The only curtain of ignorance standing between socialism and the true light, is that tissue of theological film, the equality or brotherhood of man. Science is not "classified knowledge" as many mistaken people assume. Classified knowledge is a result of science. It is an art. True science is as exact as that psychic principle, religion, it never fails. It is an impulse only. Religion is the stimulus to science as a secondary impulse. The one recognizes, the other seeks cause. The manner of seeking, classifying and applying the results is the art. How many artificial classifications have been constructed, and fallen again into innocuous desuetude. But that did not cause the death of science, did it? Men have not ceased in their attempts to "lift the veil" even if their artificial ropes did snap and the curtain again fall as one blank unruffled fold before them. The march has never stopped since the traditional Eve ate the apple. A grand tradition correctly interpreted :

" Veil after veil will lift,
But there shall be veil on veil behind."

Eve's first bite into the skin of the fruit of the tree of knowledge was the first birth of Religion, the first scientific attempt to seek what was behind the veil. Poor Adam plays a sorry rôle in the mythological tradition. No wonder the theologians have cursed Eve and her descendants in the sex line ever since. Eve lifted the veil and exposed the tree of knowledge to the enthusiastic study of all future generations. The real sons of Eve have been the enemies of theology ever since. Unfortunately, most of the male produce have bred back to Adam and been born in ignorance. The daughters of Eve have now tasted the forbidden fruit and the priesthood begins to

prepare for the grave it has itself been digging. The emancipation of woman marks the gravestone of theology. Science is the endeavor to interpret cause. It can do so only by the study of effects. Social science is the study of what? Tradition! the moon! One would almost think so. No! Man for the benefit of man universal. Not men in America, Germany, China or Africa, but men everywhere. While some social scientists have indeed asked the question why individual men succeed and others do not? and have answered it correctly—individualism—not one of them has had the boldness to apply the result to human necessities as a whole. The social scientist is not scientific. While seeing the truth he dodges the issue. They all worship the same fetich as the unpractical socialists, altruism, or the brotherhood of man. It is singular how difficult it is to cut loose from tradition. Reverence is a fetich which must be buried and replaced by an intelligent respect for fact. The evolution school of social science led by Spencer and advocated by lesser lights, is not composed of true evolutionists. They are sentimentalists. They either cannot see to what individualism points, or else they dare not face public opinion. Their diagnosis of the social disease may be correct, but they dare not prescribe the medicine demanded by the symptoms. Individualism and altruism are as antagonistic as the two poles and can never be brought any closer together. Like the theologians these social dreamers are endeavoring to produce an unnatural man. Theology has tried it thousands of years with everything in its favor. Man is repudiating it. Altruistic philosophy is taking up the rotten thread where theology lays it down. It will not hold. Man has gone too far to be much longer held by a theoretic impossibility. The lesson socialism has to learn is to intelligently apply individualistic methods to the benefit of all. Not individual individualism, but the methods by which they bring success to the whole, and that whole acting as one for it itself—socialistic individualism. If there is an iota of altruism in that I fail to see it. When applied, the fetich Jesusism will have been buried in the dust of oblivion. The brothers will no longer fight as to their inheritance from the father. It will be no longer "every man for himself

and the devil take the hindmost," but every man, in looking out for himself, will see that no other fellow or condition is allowed to retard his progress. Socialism must apply the law of self-preservation to the whole to the utmost details of social conditions. Socialism is the whole for itself. Remember that. It will differ from individualism in this. It will intelligently do for all. If the accepted and correct definition of individualism be "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost," that of true evolutionary socialism must be: "Humanity for itself, there must be no hindmost." We will elucidate that point very soon, but before doing so I wish to show that socialism has already appreciated it practically, though scarcely comprehending itself while doing so.

SOCIALISM AND SELF-MADE MEN.

It has been already pointed out that it is impossible for a man to make himself. A self-made man is one with so much individualism that he cannot help but win what the world calls success in the great social struggle. The standard of success has been set by the spirit of the age in which such a man lives, that is, the nature of his environment. Whether he succeeds or not depends on the influences of hereditary environment; the inherited potency of the individualistic potencies of his ancestors. In the early days of what we will term barbarian savagery it was brute-strength coupled with what cunning intelligence the possessor had which constituted the winning individualism, and the people honored the victorious leader, because he saved them from their neighboring human environment. This evolutionary fact in government, explains why the older Gods were all warriors in character. With further evolution, however, the conditions became more complex, tribes became nations, and more intellectual strength was acquired; more cunning than physical energy. The nation supplied the latter, the chief, the intellectual individualism. This led to the king and finally the Royal family, as the pride of family developed in kings, and they assumed themselves to be "God's anointed" as William II. of Germany conceitedly imagines himself to be. But with the extension of

commerce the idea of mutual interests, as a self-protecting measure, began to make itself apparent as the individual struggle for existence became greater and greater owing to man's becoming more and more prolific because of his more complete victory over nature and adaptation of natural products to his use, due to the results of scientific investigation. This last environment is in its full vigor now. It has produced the reign of the "almighty dollar." The "money kings" are now the most marked example of natural individualism. The warrior mixture of brutality and intelligence is giving way to an individualistic character of more refined intellectual potency but scarcely less cruelty. Socialism does not properly appreciate him. The people have really very little respect for him, much as each individual would gladly like to take his place. They do not know enough to study and learn of him. "God's will" has led the people most dangerously from themselves.

JAY GOULD THE MONEY KING.

There can be no question but what the late Jay Gould was the best representative of that exclusive individualism developed by the existing environment of the struggle for existence which the world has yet produced. To my mind, Jay Gould was a magnificent natural product. Mr. Ingalls would say "he was self-made and had no pedigree." He was "bred to win." He was the Royal Bengal Tiger of the social jungles of modern American civilization. Jay Gould was grand because he was natural. Though undoubtedly he held to the theological fetich, God and Immortality, there is no record of his having made any sacrifices worth mentioning to him. Jay Gould left no memorial on the altars of superstition. (The papers report, however, that Mr. Gould's heirs are about to build a church to the Memory of Jay Gould and the Glory of God.) There is where his real grandeur lies. There is where I admire him. Mr. Gould was never touched by the superstitions of altruism. There is no evidence that he ever worshipped at the shrine of the "brotherhood of man." Jay Gould was for himself and his products (children) first, last and all the time. He has not left any

evidence that he had a single doubt of his future condition. He did not bribe the church. Neither masses nor prayers were said for his soul, except perfunctorily. He must have been a Presbyterian and lived and died in the full conviction that he was one of the "elect" and predestinated to do just as he did. I do not know that Mr. Gould even claimed that he was a "self-made man." Others have claimed it for him. His life was undoubtedly of immense benefit to the people of this country without his ever intending it should be. The land was open, and Mr. Gould had the individualism to grasp and hold it. That constituted his "self-made-ism." The New Testament is full of the denunciation of rich men. Modern humanity has taken up the cry in its helpless ignorance. It refuses to believe that "God made the rich and the Devil the poor" and rightly. The church is the parent of anarchism but does not know it. There have been other rich men, there still are, like Carnegie and Rockefeller who pay tithes to the fetich of traditional superstition. Unlike the supreme confidence of Mr. Gould they apparently "fear God," and also fear that their names will be "forgotten among men" in which they are two-thirds right, no matter what they may do. Hence they build churches and make gifts of fruit and anise in the form of endowments to limited public education. They are not sure of themselves after death. The history of socialism should, however, teach them a lesson. When and where has man immortalized the name of a rich man? Cræsus is a mythological character. The Fuggers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries or thereabouts were the Rothschilds of their day and made their money, as the latter largely have, by supplying the "sinews of war," which kept up the Christian tradition and denied altruism "I come not to bring peace but a sword," for the warrior kings of Europe. They were immensely rich, but who knows of them now? One of them, Max Fugger, however, did immortalize his name in a manner entirely disconnected with his riches, though they may have been the cause of it. He wrote and published the first book on what may be termed the scientific breeding of horses. He did some good! Humanity has recognized that because it has had a lasting effect. This brings us

to another form of individualism for which I know of no better name than

SOCIALISTIC INDIVIDUALISM.

It must not be forgotten that while natural individualism is the expression of those individual attributes by which man takes care of himself, that it is the duty of socialism to endeavor to so educate the masses that they shall be able to apply the same principles to themselves in a self-protective degree. There is still another manifestation of individuality, not crude-natural but acquired through the influences of the ages, which is in many respects a curse to its possessor while living, though it may bless him when dead. Those who desire it may seek it. I want none of it. It should be known as altruistic individualism. It is damaging to its possessor, for he will learn that the laborer is seldom worthy of his hire, unless he deals in celestial dividends. Altruistic individualism is that individuality born in the person—by which he thinks he must work for his “fellow-men.” There are men, particularly scientists, who have an individuality which is but a curse to them, unless their “fellow-men” have intelligence enough to make use of them. These latter are the kind buried so touchingly by Gray :

“Some village Hampden who with dauntless breast,
The little tyrant of his fields withstood;
Some mute inglorious Milton here may rest,
Some Cromwell guiltless of his country’s blood.”

“Unrecognized genius” is the usual term applied to them. There is more of it under the sod than ever found itself able to get its reward on earth. It is demoralizing because not self-protective. The only kind that “pays earthly dividends,” is that which deals at post-mortal brokers of celestial dividends—the clergy. Buddha Confucius represent one form which appeared B. C. The “non-paying” variety is represented by Aristotle, Hippocrates, Socrates, Demosthenes and such of that period. Then comes the Christ of the Gospels, and the real altruistic philosophy and the followers in that line, the chief influence of whom was due more to man’s fears for his future condition than anything else. But the material

side has been continually uppermost in terrestrial post-mortal rewards, and the inductive workers, those who have produced material and lasting benefits to man as man, and not a myth, have really been the most honored and are slowly becoming more and more immortal as the ages wax and wane. More pay on earth and less immortality would "pay" better, however. What well educated person does not know something of the work of Galen, of Copernicus, of Galileo, of Paracelsus, of Cato (the censor) in agriculture, of Vesalius, the first anatomist, of Ruini, the first equine anatomist, of Harvey, the discoverer or explainer of circulation, of Linnæus, the naturalist, of Lord Bacon, the second Aristotle, of Boerhaave, the second Hippocrates, of Newton, of Humboldt, of Jenner the immortal of immortals to first show how the real victory over disease is to be won; of Darwin, the father of modern investigation. On the other side, of Calvin and Luther and John Knox who knocked the terrors of Romanism into such fragments they can never be collected again. Who stands first in the minds of American people, the rich men of the past, or the fathers of the revolution, Thomas Paine, Washington, Hancock, the Adamses, Jefferson, Randolph and their co-laborers? What should we have heard of Robert Morris if he had not done humanity a lasting good? Whom do we honor now but such men as Virchow, Koch, Pasteur, Spencer and Huxley? Whom have we lately immortalized but the leaders in the same general direction, Lincoln, Parker, Sumner, Garrison, Phillips, Seward, and their contemporaries?

It is really wisdom which continually bringeth fruit that succeeding generations honor. We hear of and honor the "wisdom of Solomon" but no one cares about the "glory of King David." The description of Solomon's temple is mouldering but the wisdom of the Proverbs, will last as long as man thinks. In spite of himself the money king removes his hat to a Darwin, or a Virchow, for he recognizes the greater and more durable treasure. What is this? What does this teach us, but that the men "who have moved the world," whom humanity most honors as it itself approaches them even in intelligence and a comprehension of the true law of self-preservation are not those who have done mighty deeds on the field of

battle, or have accumulated vast fortunes, but those who have promulgated an immortal idea, who have so read nature, as to have given an interpretation that has gone rolling down the ages gathering in strength and usefulness with each revolution of the wheels of time? A manly self-respect refuses to recognize unduly the vanity which leads to public benefactions. No public charity, no endowment of church or hospital, or educational institution has, can or will, ever give to any man that universal immortality which the promulgation of a beneficial interpretation of a natural law will that men can make more and more their own as they increase in intelligence. The question is, is not such a laborer worthy of his hire? It is somewhat singular that the renown of the greatest inventors, like Morse, Fulton, Howe, and our own Edison, pale in the light of time, because their work becomes so commonplace that every one takes it as a natural sequence. They cause no more thought than the rising and setting of the sun. But a truth, a law of nature, never ages. It is as immortal to-day as when first discovered. A great idea is more immortal than the grandest deeds of bloody field, or the amassing of unappreciable millions. In one sense the church knows but two great names, the gospel Christ and Martin Luther. I predict that both will pass into oblivion, except to curiosity hunters for historic relics, before the evolution of man reaches its culmination. I predict that the greatest name of past American history, and almost of Universal past history will yet be that of Thomas Paine. The gospel Christ lives because it is assumed that he "spake as never man spake" in sympathy with the struggles and miseries of humanity. He offered the poor hope in the future to offset the miseries of the present. The "Jesus rising" still offers strength and comfort to the weak and suffering. He will descend into oblivion as man learns that his very teachings support and keep up the misery he is endeavoring to escape from. The "practical common sense" of man soon drops all save that which is useful. Even the reverence for that which has been useful wanes with time and finally passes to forgetfulness. That which is not useful eventually becomes naught in spite of the power of tradition. The Juggernaut of

time moves slowly, but it is crushing the Gods to ashes. They are being disintegrated by the evolving suns of intelligence and dispersed by the winds of reason never to collect again.

Taking the records then, it is apparent that the purely rich man has had a pretty tough time of it, and should be allowed all the pleasure he can take in his accumulations. His real value has never been appreciated. Why was he self-supporting? The gospels and apostles all condemn him, and humanity has failed to give him any immortalizing credit. The ideas of Jesus seem to have been really prophetic. "Verily it is harder for a rich man to gain immortality than for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle." The study of the world has been misplaced on the poor man. It is the successful who should be studied. But individualism cannot be rubbed out or argued out of existence. It is a natural fact as immortal and enduring as life itself. The work of socialism is to remove its natural fangs. To subject it to the benefit of all. The survival of the unfit in the struggle for existence must be overcome. They are the cause of all the social misery—not the fit. It can only be done in one way. That is by anticipating the natural method and breeding those only fit to survive. That is the real key to the social problem. It is not altruistic. It knows nothing of the brotherhood of man. Let us look into the natural method still more closely.

THE MIGHT TO CAN.

All sensible people know that it takes ability to succeed in anything. That no one can succeed without possessing such abilities. This ability constitutes what is termed "individualism." Theology alone denies it. It may say it does not, but when it asserts that "God made all men equal" it contradicts itself. It then dodges the issue and says, "Oh, we mean equal in heaven." It cannot prove that, and when called on to do so falls back on tradition. The trouble is that theology has told this falsehood so long that the majority of humanity have actually come to believe in it as a fact. They cannot and will not see why it should not be so. They actually shut the eyes of intelligence to their own daily experiences. As

in everything else the experiences of actual life dash theology to the ground. As will be discussed soon, the "Declaration of Independence" promulgates that doctrine as an axiomatic fact and the constitution vainly asserts that it must be enforced. Of all the results of fetich worship this "equality-of-man" idea has been and is the most dangerous. It has been and is and will yet be, the cause of revolution and bloodshed. It caused the Chicago riots and the trouble at Homestead. It engenders hatred. It is constantly disproving that altruistic fetich "the brotherhood of man." The erroneous socialistic attempts, of a communistic character, have all been founded on it and failed because contrary to a natural law. Jesusism will fail from the same cause. Farmers' Alliances, and trades' organizations have taken it up and broken to pieces on the Rock in which they thought salvation anchored. Trade-unionism has even attempted to force it into actual being by making all workers equal so far as remuneration is concerned, and if not already done, they must wreck on that ledge of inconsistency which kills out, or attempts to, all individualism.

This ability to do, this natural individualism, by which the survival of the fittest occurs in nature I have termed "the might to can." Only those who have "the can" succeed. Those who have it not fall out of the ranks. In the natural struggle—and what struggle for existence is not natural?—those not possessing the might to can, do not, unfortunately, perish at once. According to their might they eke out an existence correspondingly miserable, subject to all the vicissitudes of their environment. The chief cause of their not possessing the necessary Might is what I have termed the phylogenetic environment. They have not been bred right. They are naturally weak. They die of disease, and from their weakness are open to all kinds of attack. They cannot compete with the stronger. There is a law of nature that "like produces like." In promiscuous breeding the weaknesses are more liable to become hereditarily fixed than the mights because there are more of them. The strong force the weak to the wall, and they collect together. They have the same sexual instincts as the strong, and often to a greater degree. They breed and produce not only their

kind, but the weakness is often augmented by a sort of cumulative potentiality. In the animal world, under natural conditions, we find these weaklings on the confines of the herd, at places where the food is most scanty. They are the animal Lazaruses taking the crumbs of vegetation which the Dives of the herd have left behind. They are the victims of carnivorous beasts; of man, of reptiles, of all natural enemies, and on migration often drop and die from sheer exhaustion. The same picture is true of man. The Editor of *The Arena* has lately depicted it in a book entitled "Civilization's Inferno." When asked for the prevention, he gives us the altruistic fetich, "the brotherhood of man." It is not necessary to describe it. The confines of the human herd, where the weaklings exist, are the centers of poverty, crime and misery. They are on the outskirts of civilization everywhere. They are among the western and southern farmers. The "homesteader" and "poh-white-trash" are its representatives. The homes of the superstitious rich nourish and pet the evil. The consumptives and imbeciles, idiots and weaklings, no matter how fortunately born all give the lie to any such absurdity as the equality of man. How shall we reduce the inequality? Shall we go on forever worshipping at the shrine of altruism and support this evil by that vicarious social ointment, charity? Shall we follow the gospels and with the modern anarchists and mistaken communists curse the rich man for doing what he cannot help; succeeding where others fail? Shall we support cruelty and misery instead of trying intelligently to prevent it?

It has become the fashion with sensational alarmists of the altruistic type to shout on the highways and by-ways that "the poor are growing poorer and the rich richer." That is not true! The truth is that the poor are developing in a wholly undue proportion to the rich. Only in a very few families are the rich holding their own. This is because, as Ingalls says, they have no pedigree. In other words, they have not been bred in winning lines long enough to produce their kind, with any degree of certainty. The greatest fortunes in this country, with one exception, have all been made by their immediate possessors. The customs of the land are against the

rich growing richer without labor. This is the real reason one of the Astors has gone to England. It is absolutely impossible here to so tie up property for generations that it cannot be squandered. Riches in themselves do not guarantee the ability to keep them. The peculiarity of the Astor family has been that it has not produced a first-class spendthrift. There is pedigree there somewhere, Ingalls to the contrary. They are an individualistic family in *optima forma*. But it is not with the individualist we have to do so much as those lacking in individuality, whether physically or mentally, as we know full well why the former succeeds.

I admit that under existing conditions we must continue as we are now doing, so far as what is called "charity" is concerned, and even, perhaps, may have to do more if this senseless procreation keeps up as it probably will for a long time; but I do beg all intelligent people to free themselves from the traditional superstition that they do it for love of man, or for love of God, or to make their accounts right beyond the grave. Above all things, let us be honest with ourselves. Let us do it in full recognition of the law of self-protection on earth. Let us look on all social miseries, as they truly are, as pestiferous diseases of the body politic, and treat them as such. Let us try and prevent them, and only feed them where we must, because if left to run riot they may become threateningly dangerous to each one of us. Let us have no hypocrisy. Let us bow down no more in fetich worship. Let us use the same common-sense we do in any other business matters. The cure of the social diseases is a self-protective necessity, not a sentiment. Suppose a neighbor has the scarlet fever, or small-pox in his house and refuses to keep his family confined. Do we support him in it? No, we complain to the authorities. We look out for ourselves and ours. In that sense we should look on poverty as the most terrible disease of all time, for it is the nursery of crime.

Now let us apply the lessons of natural individualism to the social diseases, poverty, misery and crime? As said, we now hug them to ourselves and nurse and support them by our, in the sense practiced, absurd sympathy and superstition. In this way we only make more

cruel and lasting the natural struggle for existence. What socialism must do and will do is to finally eradicate and overcome the struggle. This can only be done by breeding the race as intelligently as we are breeding the best horses, which is the reason I introduced that subject in earlier pages. It is fast becoming so that while all are not winners of "first money," that the majority of the trotters bred are beginning "to get a piece of the purse," and those which do not do that bring a sufficient reward for the expense of breeding them.

We must do that in our own species!

How? By following our own example in breeding animals! We must commence with the criminal classes and imbeciles, those so at enmity with the well-being of society that on no account must they be allowed to reproduce themselves. Those who demonstrate their actual inability to be of any use to society should be mercifully killed as public enemies. Reform of such is too expensive a method and too illusory to be trifled with longer. We must have regard to the possibilities and save possible children from a curse which we know can be transmitted for generations and increase in intensity. We must look out for ourselves! The struggle for existence must be lessened. We must be master of human nature as well as all nature outside of it. At the same time we should begin the teaching of physiological morality—of which later—in all our schools; and the intelligent among the clergy should unite with us, and teach that first of all commands, "man, know thyself and be true to thyself," and the criminality of any sexual relations which under any possibility could produce weaklings. Men and women should be made to see the full responsibilities of life and to keep the number of children down to the lowest possible limit. I am not a believer in the Malthus theory as some readers may think. The trouble is not, nor is it going to be, that there are too many people on earth, but that in the first place there are millions too many so ill-bred that they have not the "might to can" and win a living from their environment. The fact is, and every honest man will admit it, that those possessing the might to can have to work unnecessarily hard on account of the expense of keeping these weaklings from becoming a more menacing

danger than they now are. Another evil is the present massing of people in dense communities in cities. The reign of the "almighty dollar" will not cease until this struggle for existence is most markedly mitigated. This is a question of true education: of making people realize that God is a fetich, that only those succeed who help themselves and that that cannot be done unless they are bred to. We must build humanity up to the necessary degree of individualism, and not try to pull our models of success down to the level of those who have no claims to succeed as most social reformers are trying to do. By proper legislation we must remove the chances of men of exorbitant abilities getting more than they need, and by education place a moral environment around them that they will not dare to try. As can be seen I am not an enemy of the rich, nor of individualism. I am not a socialist in the popular sense.

The history of evolution teaches us that nothing is impossible to him who has the might to can and will to do and perseverance to keep on doing. This is applying individualism to social necessities. It is true socialism. Remember this, that true socialism is unlimited in its reach. It studies men for man. No natural law is limited to any one place in its application. All socialistic laws should be based on natural. Science is the study of nature to unravel the causes of things and the laws on which they depend. If our knowledge is accurate and its application exact, then there is no art in it. In so far as they are inexact our applications are artificial. The time to begin is now. A beginning has been made, as is evinced by the general interest awakened in these subjects. The world is filled with a general spirit of skepticism. Reverence for traditional superstition is fast fading away. Even the church is being caught in the maelstrom of awakening intelligence and common sense. "Procrastination is the thief" of more things than time. It is death to health; it is discouraging to morality; it is a disease extending its pestiferous fangs in every direction. The following striking poem illustrates the principle which should guide the true social scientist.

"THE HOUSE OF NEVER."

- "The house of Never is built, they say,
Just over the hills of the By and By,
Its gates are reached by a devious way,
Hidden from all but an Angel's eye.
It winds about and in and out
The hills and dales to sever.
Once over the hills of the By and By
And you're lost in the house of Never."
- "The house of Never is filled with waits,
With just-in-a-minutes and pretty-soons,
The noise of their wings as they beat the gates
Comes back to earth in the afternoons,
When shadows fly across the sky
And rushes rude endeavor
To question the hills of the By and By
As they ask for the house of Never."
- "The house of Never was built with tears,
And lost in the hills of the By and By
Are a million hopes and a million fears,
A baby's smile and a woman's cry.
The winding way seems bright to-day,
Then darkness falls forever.
For over the hills of the By and By
Sorrow waits in the house of Never."

To obtain true service, socialism must pay the best of any employer. Humanity should never be a "dead beat." The race should pay as willingly and as much for ability as the individual. The public service should be a public business, not a public trust. Free labor is the dearest service.

EVOLUTION OF ETHICS.

"TRUTH IS THE MIGHTIEST OF ALL THINGS."

IN a book like this, treating on social topics most intimately related to each other, it is impossible that the same general principles must not be adapted to various topics, perhaps sometimes with a tendency to repetition, but the questions discussed are so vital to man's prosperity and my desire so earnest to make evident the errors of many historical methods as well as the "way out," indicated by natural individualism, that the reader will pardon any such lapses, should they occur. Still, the variation in the topic probably calls for such a variation in treatment that there will be very little actual repetition, except where warranted by the case in point.

To our subject.

Knowledge may be classified in three directions :

1. Positive knowledge, or that which we really know.
2. Doubtful knowledge, or that of which something is known.
3. Unknown, or uninvestigated nature.

The knowledge of most people, except on matters of practical simplicity, is of the second-hand variety. They accept current opinions with "implicit faith." They speak with assurance on vital questions the natural basis of which they know nothing. Their knowledge, like their constitutions, is inherited ; or, like their drinks, imbibed. In a certain, though not the accepted sense, such people are agnostics. They are in doubt and not absolutely certain. But as they do know something on the every-day matters of life on which they are authority, so there is a minority in the world who know much, in comparison, of the workings of nature, composed of accurate observers and reliable inductive thinkers. They may be called positivists. They know what they know, and what they are in doubt about, and are modestly aware of that which they do not know. With regard to evolution in nature there is a vast accumulation of exact objective knowledge, or accurate acquaintance with facts. There is also a large

amount of inductive knowledge as to how the facts came about. There is more about which we are in doubt, of which only partial and uncertain explanations can be given. With regard to evolution, it has been generally assumed that the fact of the law has been established beyond doubt, and that by it all the phenomena of material nature, and there can be no other, could be explained. We felt that we had finally attained a permanent foundation from which and on which to further develop the tree of knowledge. But alas! how vain our aspirations! Our tree of hope, if not torn up by the roots, has received an apparently fatal wound in its trunk. The interesting question is, is it a fact? Has the pillar of evolutionary truth been so shaken that it must fall to pieces of its own weakness? The woodman to lay his fell axe at the trunk of the tree of evolutionary knowledge is Professor Huxley.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY'S RECANTATION.

On the effect of such a sensational move on the part of the noted British savant, selections from an editorial from the "Boston Herald" are introduced in which it says:

"The recent Romanes Lecture by Professor Huxley on 'Evolution and Ethics' has stirred up the scientists and moralists to an unprecedented degree. He is so eminent as a scientist that his opinion goes a great way, and he has stood for the theory of evolution as explaining all the processes of life so persistently, and has been so doughty a champion of agnosticism, that his opponents have seized on his few admissions in this lecture as an indication that he has changed his mind, or that he has allowed the full facts in the case to take possession of his own consciousness. Professor Huxley is undoubtedly the ablest living exponent of the doctrine of evolution. If Mr. Spencer has applied the doctrine to life and society, it is Professor Huxley who has worked out the verifications of this law, so that it has ceased to be a hypothesis, and has become a demonstrated fact. Professor Huxley's admissions are important as testimony to the fact that ethical ideas are not accounted for by evolution, and Professor Mivart formerly a student under Huxley and still his friend, seizes on these admissions and points

out that his old teacher has within twenty years, entirely shifted his point of view. He admits now, what he did not admit in 1871, that there is something deeper in man than the utilitarian theory of morals, that 'there lies within him a fund of energy, operating intelligently and so far akin to that which pervades the universe that it is competent to influence and modify the cosmic process.' In other words, Professor Huxley has given grounds for the assumption, that he has joined the ranks of those who assume and truly believe that the Cosmos is pervaded and ruled by an all-controlling Immaculate Intelligence."

Some men, the majority, are fortunate enough not to be weighed until they are dead. Professor Huxley has seen fit to place himself in the balance to be weighed, and challenged the scientific world as to whether "he shall be found wanting," in his lifetime or not! Agreeing more or less fully with the writer of the previous quotation as to the value of the labors of Professor Huxley in demonstrating many biological facts from the deep recesses of nature, which of their own weight have fallen automatically into the chain of evidence in favor of the law of evolution, it is an open question if his evidently enthusiastic admirer has not overcredited the celebrated English investigator. It is true and just that aside from the gigantic array of facts collected by Darwin which formed the basic construction of the wheel of evolution, to credit Mr. Huxley with being one of the very first scientific investigators to delve deeper into the profundity of the cosmos and expose to our wondering gaze the first array of microscopic facts, which at once acted as an almost imperishable cement to complete the wheel which Darwin had so wondrously constructed. But Mr. Huxley was not alone in this, and it is questionable if the far less reverential Ernst Haeckel did not do as much objective work as Huxley, and even more, to set the wheel in active revolution. But this is not all, while Agassiz refused to accept the "revolving of the wheel," as going in the true direction, our own Gray did no insignificant work in adding to the evidence and demonstrating that the wheel was true on its axis. Since then investigators innumerable in every field of biological research, not to omit

bacteriology as the science which fills up the minutest pores in the axis of the wheel, have been constantly adding new evidence that we fondly supposed that the objective tire was complete enough, and that the inductive lubricant was all sufficient to keep the wheel moving in true revolutions to the end of time. Professor Mivart, it seems, "points out that his old teacher has within twenty years entirely changed his ground ;" and that, "he admits now what he did not admit in 1871, that there is something deeper in man than the utilitarian theory of morals, and that there lies within him a fund of energy, operating intelligently, and so far akin to that which pervades the universe that it is competent to influence and modify the cosmic process."

Such an accusation, if the word will be pardoned, regarding such an eminent person as Professor Huxley, must certainly have some grounds ; not that I mean the accusation to be unjust, but that there must be some cause for such an ultra change of base in such an investigator. "Twenty years" is a long time, especially when they come towards the "green old age." Britons are not only a conservative people, but, above all others, they have an intense and almost blind reverence for traditional ways and thoughts. At such an age, the man is rare who does not become more or less influenced by the ideas of his childhood, and without in any way desiring to be anything but most profoundly courteous, it is modestly suggested that this change in years may explain the radical transformation in the views of England's great investigator from those of his energetic and aggressive manhood.

Having read the opinions of others as to the involuntary changes in Professor Huxley's mind it is now becoming that, as Priscilla desired of John Alden, we allow this new Courtier at the Throne of Sublime Intelligence to "speak for himself."

In his Romanes Lecture Professor Huxley says :

1. "Cosmic nature is no school of virtue, but the headquarters of the enemy of ethical nature. This logic of facts was necessary to convince that the cosmos works through the lower nature of man, not for righteousness, but against it."

2. "Another fallacy is the notion that in the survival of the fittest, men in society, men as ethical beings, must look to the same process to help them towards perfection. Fittest has a connotation of best in the moral sense."

3. "Let us understand once for all that the ethical progress of society depends not on imitating the cosmic process, still less in running away from it, but in combating it. It may seem audacious to thus pit the microcosm against the macrocosm, and to set man to subdue nature to his higher ends."

4. "Social progress means a checking of the cosmic process at every step and the substitution for it of another which may be called the ethical process, the end of which is not the survival of the fittest in respect to the whole conditions which exist, but to those who are ethically best."

5. "Cosmic evolution may teach us how the good and evil tendencies in man may have come about; but, in itself, it is incompetent to furnish any better reason why what we call good is preferable to what we call evil than we had before."

It seems to me that to deny the final result of the processes which have lead to, and control evolution, even to what is termed the "perfection of manhood" is to deny the whole law. If the Ethical Process (God) cannot account for the material man, it cannot for the "spiritual." If the genesis and perfection of man's moral nature cannot be explained by evolution; if they do not stand on an impregnable evolutionary foundation, then the whole basis is rotten and the entire superstructure must fall! It seems to me that while this Romanes lecture may be scholastic that it is certainly not a scholarly production, for it is nothing more nor less than a collection of *a priori* and not axiomatic assertions, which, as is already the case, are taken up by the opponents of exact science as limiting the possibilities of the law of evolution.

The law of evolution is now a very simple thing to comprehend for the educated and properly-drilled mind. The chain of evidence is so complete that its perfection is self-evident. It has become axiomatic. Is not evolution the gradual development of bioplasm from the most homogeneous structure with like simplicity in functional activities, to conditions of manifold heterogeneity in structure

with like complexity in action? In other words, a development from simple to complex, action and reaction being equal? The law of evolution, to repeat again what has been already said, expresses to us the fact that by innate characteristics, certain individuals have been enabled to withstand the resistance of their environment, and in doing so certain modifications in their characteristics have occurred which have led to more complexity (perfection we call it) in structure and action. It is for science to discover and explain them. But, to the understanding of the law of evolution, the foregoing is insufficient. There is another series of processes of equal importance. The facts connected therewith demonstrate the law of involution. It is the coequal partner of the law of evolution in the completion of the cosmic processes. The law of involution bespeaks the retrogradation of natural phenomena to the final destruction of the morphic elements in progressive form and conditions. Huxley realizes the importance of the law of involution when he says: "Long since, I ventured to point out that if our hemisphere were to cool again, the survival of the fittest might bring about, in the vegetable kingdom, a population of more and more stunted and humbler organisms, until the 'fittest' that survived might be nothing but lichens and diatoms."

By that time the processes of involution would have probably depopulated the animal world, with the exception of the very lowest and simplest microscopic forms.

THE PRIMARY BIOPLASMATIC COSMIC LAW.

There is, however, another law of nature which in the sense I am going to apply it, has not, I think, received the attention which its paramount and profound importance demands. I speak thus reservedly, for in my busy life time has not been had to read more than the works of objective observers, outside of my hitherto especial field of work, and that only cursorily. I have done more thinking than reading on the questions under discussion. He who buries himself in the vaults of authority is liable to dig the grave of his own intellectual advancement. The value of most speculative authority is that of negative suggestion. The law referred to is the Law of Self-pro-

tection. It is the fundamental law controlling, of and in, all bioplasm, and inseparable from it as such. It is the basis of the law of evolution and involution. All other cosmic laws are but a further development, an unfolding of this fundamental cosmic principle. In its primary manifestation, in the first visible organization of bioplasm into concrete form, a microbe, for example, it is the simplest of physical laws, corresponding to the homogeneous structure of such microscopic objects. Its action depends on, apparently, the simplest chemical affinity between the chemismus of the bioplasmatic unit and certain chemicals in solution in its environment. Disturb this chemical relation, even to an inappreciable degree, either in the bioplasmatic unit or in the environment, and involution begins. Action and reaction are no more equal. Such a disturbance I claim to be that moral stimulus in the cosmic process, from which eventually evolved the moral nature of perfected man.

When Huxley says that "cosmic evolution may teach us how the good and evil tendencies of man have come about, but in itself is incompetent to furnish any better reason why what we call good is preferable to what we call evil than we had before," I think he cuts his entire ground from beneath his feet. If "cosmic evolution" can "teach us how the good and evil tendencies in man have come about" certainly, in cosmic evolution must we seek the "reason why," the cause for those same "good and evil tendencies." This cause must be sought in the disturbances of the law of self-protection. In his latest addition to his "Principles of Ethics" Mr. Spencer says that "the doctrine of evolution has not furnished guidance to the extent I had hoped." This must be only because Mr. Spencer did not go back to the beginning of evolution. We will try to fill up the gap. That action which tends to favor self-protection and support it must of necessity be good, and the contrary evil. Huxley, and after him Mivart and without doubt hosts of others, now the mountain of doubt has been thrown in the track of the wheel of evolution, appears to deny that the foundation of human morality can be found in the evolution of any such simple bioplasmatic condition to those heterogenetic conditions presented by the moral man. I regret

that here is not the place, or better time, for me to develop this Law of Self-protection in its manifold morphological and functional presentations from the microbe to man, but am busy on such a work. It will answer our purpose, however, to demonstrate the correctness of the position taken by a cursory study of its manifestations in and by man.

What do we understand by morals, or better, what does the world comprehend by what Huxley terms the "ethical process?" To this purpose I will refer to the "International Journal of Ethics" Vol. III., No. 4, July, 1893, and an article, "On Certain Physiological Aspects of Moral Training," by Prof. Josiah Royce, Ph. D., Harvard in which, among other things, he says:

The Moral motives are:

"1. Live for the general good:

"2. Always be true to your own higher self."

It will appear further on in this discussion that I consider the above classification of the moral motives absolutely incorrect, and that "the last should be first," and that the first is not only illogical but contrary to cosmic law. Altruism, in the above sense, is, for me, the grossest immorality. I think Huxley must have become cognizant of this fact, and with his British reverence for moral authority influenced by augmenting years, shuddered at the result to which a correct study of the law of evolution logically leads, and shut the doors of his intellect to light which was unpleasantly bright. Yet, if Huxley's lecture be correctly read and appreciated, it must be looked on as the most suggestively valuable contribution to the study of ethics we have had of late. It commands a thorough marshalling of the forces of knowledge. Does he not admit the correctness of my position when he denies the, or any, relation of the processes of the cosmos to Ethics? Totally misunderstanding, or unwilling to admit, the true relation of natural individualism to scientific socialism and failing to appreciate that moral self-protectiveness is but the evolutionary development of natural individualism. He says:

"Laws and moral precepts are directed to the end of curbing the cosmic process and reminding the individual of his duty to the community, to the protection and in-

fluence of which he owes, if not existence itself, at least the life of something better than a brutal savage.

"It is from the neglect of these plain considerations that the fanatical individualism of our time attempts to apply the analogy of cosmic nature to society. Once more we have a misapplication of the stoical injunction to follow nature: the duties of the individual to the state are forgotten and his tendencies to self-assertion are dignified by the name of rights. * * * The struggle for existence, which has done such admirable work in cosmic nature, must, it appears, be equally beneficent in the ethical sphere. Yet, if that which I have insisted on is true; if the cosmic process has no sort of relation to moral ends; if the imitation of it by man is inconsistent with the first principles of ethics, what becomes of this surprising theory?"

Here, then, is war interminable. Here, then, is the finite and fallible opposing itself to the infinite and eternal cosmos. Huxley is apparently fully aware of his temerity when he says: "It may seem audacious to pit the microcosm against the macrocosm." The part against the whole. Such temerity has generally resulted in the "survival of the fittest."

Huxley's criticism of "fanatical individualism" is more or less justified, for the reason that those of whom he speaks fail to comprehend the true relation of individualism to socialism. Socialism is the individualization of the masses for their self-protection as a whole. It is not communism, or social-democratism or any such semi-savage (massed) individualism. On the other hand Huxley appears to be equally myopic in the same direction. If socialism must seek its true compass in natural individualism, then it must seek its moral foundation there as well, or it will fail. Has it not already failed by doing just what Huxley claims it should do when he pits the microcosm against the macrocosm? Has not the microcosm been in constant (unintelligent) combat with the macrocosm since our historical records began? Do not our present threatening social conditions show us that altruism in every form is "quack medicine?" It has utterly failed in meeting the ends hoped for. The dissatisfied condition of the masses in all civilized countries shows the dangerous effects of

following Huxley's advice. Are not the causes of this social pathological condition rather to be sought in the microcosm studying the macrocosm, and itself as a part of it, and adapting itself to the whole, as each part of a delicate machine is adapted, rather than placing itself as an opposing spoke to stop the course of the cosmic laws? In advocating that the microcosm combat the macrocosm, the individual man to fight the balance of humanity, for that is what it logically amounts to, does not Huxley adopt a more "fanatical individualism" than that which he condemns, and contradict his own altruism in which he reminds "the individual of his duty to the community"? Natural individualism as surely evolves to the ethical nature of higher man as the sun rises and sets when he intelligently applies the law of self-protection to himself. The cause is to be sought in the changes in human environment worked out by man himself and the necessity of his adapting himself intelligently to them would he comfortably survive.

It is evident that Huxley does not deny material evolution in man, in anything but in regard to the "ethical process" when he says: "Men in society are undoubtedly subject to the cosmic process. As among animals multiplication goes on without cessation and involves severe competition for the means of support; the struggle for existence tends to eliminate those less fitted to adapt themselves to the circumstances for their existence. The strongest, the most self-assertive, tend to tread down the weaker. But the influence of the cosmic process on the evolution of society is the greater the more rudimentary the civilization. Social progress means a checking of the cosmic process and the substitution for it of another, which we call the ethical process."

In admitting material evolution so far, Huxley must give up his present agnostic position and go entirely over to the side of supra-naturalists and believers, in a Supreme Intelligence which is extra-natural. No middle ground is possible. If man is materially—anatomically—a part of the cosmos, then every microscopic part of him must be equally related to the whole. If the material man is part of the cosmos then the physiological action of each part of him must be equally a part of cosmic action.

To hold to his position and be logical Huxley must affirm, and that unequivocally, that moral action is the result of some other factors than the elements of man's brains, otherwise his intellect. If morality is not the result of the action of that part of the self-protective organization known as the brain, then from whence does it emanate?

With Huxley, the majority of writers on ethics appear to have placed "the cart before the horse." They have instigated a fatal combat between the microcosmos and the cosmos. They have invariably placed the fundament of morality in the relation of the individual to the community, or mass, instead of the natural condition of the individual to himself, and the community, with each individual as a part of it, to itself. They have utterly failed to recognize that the foundation of all morality, as every other physiological function, is individualistic, and that the generalization of this law—it is a law, and that sublime law of intelligent self-protection in its highest evolutionary development at that—to every individual in a community, by intelligent education, is the only practical, scientific and reliable method by which to attain to an ideal, self-protective, general morality.

What do we mean by an ideal moral condition? Is it not that condition which results to the best good of self? How can that be better attained than by a studied living so as to cause as little antagonism, or disturbance, by one's actions in and of one's self, and also in those surrounding us as possible? Given a community individually intelligent enough to carry out such a principle, have we not a Utopia of ideal moral perfection? If this is so, and I think no one will have the temerity to deny it, then we have at once an axiomatic law of morality which is in full accord with evolution. This Law is from the Book of Revelations of the Cosmos, Chapter I., Verse I, and reads:

THE MORAL LAW OF SELF-PROTECTION.

Moral action, is that individual action which is in no possible way liable to react within self, or cause a reaction on the part of others, to the injury or threatening disturbance of the party acting.

That law is individualistic. It is the intelligent sub-

jection of man to the cosmic laws of individualism in accordance with the highest social evolution.

When can one speak of an existing condition being moral? The answer to this question will show that our definition of morality is axiomatic. It is but the adoption of the physical law that action and reaction are equal but opposite in direction to individual and social conditions. An action produces a moral condition, or is the result of such, when an exact equilibrium exists between action and reaction. In other words, there is no disturbance of the individual's physiological equilibrium, nor of that of each individual in the community by the actor, himself; nor of any individual in the community by the action of the latter as an individual.

This is cosmic law! It is in accord with the law of evolution. Any disturbance of the equilibrium between action or reaction may threaten a momentary or prolonged individual or social involution, and, if too extended, revolution. It should be axiomatic that the natural law of morality, being identical with the physical law of material action, it must be cosmic. It produces the moral "best" when action and reaction are equal. The social cosmos is at peace. Individual and domestic tranquillity reign. It is the natural law of individualism applied to individual and social conditions. To perfectly apply it is the science of socialism. It includes the whole of morality, and is the basis of all customs and all law. According to Huxley, morality must consist in individual freedom from the cosmic law. Stop and think a moment what that means! Does it not mean *laissez-faire*, go-as-you-please, natural individualism unlimited? Does it not mean anarchy? According to the law of evolution and common sense, morality consists in the individual knowing and submitting himself intelligently to the cosmic laws and not in combating them. If I am wrong I am willing to be taught and to take the "best" road. Where has man "won a victory over nature" by combating cosmic laws? Stop and think! Has he not "won" and made himself comparatively master of all the cosmos—except himself—by earnest study and discovery of the specific cosmic laws, and then by adapting his endeavors to them? That is Science! With intense deference I would sug-

gest that the truth is always more endangered by apostates, or ignorant or incompetent friends, in its own ranks than by outside opposition.

Moral law presents itself in two forms: 1. Natural-physiologic, and individualistic self-protective; 2. Socialistic self-protective, which is but the generalization of the former to the needs of all. Practically we recognize this, though altruists advocate exactly the contrary. Our criminal laws recognize the second form in their purpose, which is socialistic self-protective; and the first form in their punishment, which is cautionary or threateningly incitive self-protective to each individual; in that he must "obey the law" not to come in conflict with the well-being or individuality of the community as an individual looking out for his own welfare.

If the reader will reflect a moment so as not to misapprehend my true meaning I will boldly say, that in the altruistic, or generally accepted, sense the individual has no obligations whatever to the community. In an intelligent-self-protective sense, on the contrary, he has every obligation to himself to study it and aid in its not becoming a menace to his welfare. Stop and think over that proposition! The community as a compound and complex cosmic unit (in accord with the law of evolution) can and must seek to apply the law of self-protection to each microcosmic unit as a whole body for its preservation, even as each individual must intelligently apply it to himself, and, as a part of the social cosmos seek to inspire others to do the same thing for his own self-protection. It is the microcosmos within the cosmos, each acting in conformity, so that neither the individual nor cosmic equilibrium shall be disturbed. The cosmos says to the microcosmos and the latter to itself: ¹

"Ho! Ye who suffer, know,
Ye suffer from yourselves, none else compels;
None other holds you that ye live and die;
And while upon the wheel (of ignorance) and hug and kiss
Its spokes of agony,

"Its tire of tears, its nave of nothingness,
Behold! I show you truth!

¹ Adapted from *Light of Asia*.

From the beginning unto the end (of evolution),
As space eternal and as surety sure,
Is fixed a law profound which moves to good."

What law? The law of self-protection! It should now be evident to the reader that nearly all our moral endeavors and instruction have been theoretically in the wrong direction. Sensible, practical people go in the straight way of evolutionary ethics. The business principle that individual honesty is the best policy is proof thereof. We have been taught to pay altogether too much primary attention to "the other fellow." Altruism forgets one of its pet maxims, "remove the mote out of thine own eye before thou seekest to remove the beam from another's."

So far as duty to society is concerned, it is a sort of Canute affair; "thus far shalt thou go and no farther." The only difference is that, like the sea, every other individual has the same privilege. It is all a question of the mutual but intelligent application of the law of self-protection; simple in the homogeneous conditions of primeval man and society, as in general it is in any civilized family, when all members are equal; but becoming more and more complex with the multiplication of men and concentrated communal organization, and the heterogeneous mixture of safe and intelligent elements in society with the alarming increase of the unintelligent and dangerous. Any system of morality in conflict with the cosmos is rotten. It must shatter to pieces by the immorality it induces in the disturbance of the individual and social equilibrium. The natural law of self-protective morality is as evolutionary and material in its origin and development as is every phenomenon or fact in nature. It is cosmic and microcosmic. One in all and all in one. Though society made the law one does not say to himself "thou shalt not steal," out of regard to the other person, but because the social reaction will much disturb one's own equilibrium. Apply this law of self-protective morality to all and assume all capable of applying to themselves individually, and it becomes axiomatic that the most ideal—"best"—condition of individual and general prosperity would and must be attained. It is not the plastic "best" of altruistic moralists, but it is the active best of cosmic evolution.

ALTRUISTIC ANARCHY.

Although enough has been said to refute Professor Huxley's charges against the insufficiency of the law of cosmic evolution to explain the cause and genesis of the ethical processes in man, in the interests of general morality it may be well to expose some still more dangerous weaknesses of undoubtedly sincere altruistic reformers to further demonstrate the all-sufficiency of the intelligent application of the law of self-protection to individual and social moral conditions.

These writers largely call themselves individualists, and it is against some of them that Huxley's charge of fanatical individualism is directed. On the other hand they are very extensively engaged in decrying an extreme but not vicious form of natural individualism, and supporting or abetting another in its most malignant manifestations. That "they wot not what they do," is self-evident. Considering their standing in the community, they are all the more inexcusable. We are not only threatened, but in the very midst of an epidemic of mental disease which may be justly entitled

A WAR FOR THE EXTERMINATION OF NATURAL ABILITY.

The emotional reformers alluded to are continually crying up the vices of the rich and unwittingly supplying sympathetic dynamite to the ignorant and irresponsible in society, so that even the "blood and-thunder" jargon of genuine anarchists and so-called socialists is not more dangerous. The individualism of the ignorant and uncultivated socialistic demagogue may be momentarily alarming and even locally revolutionary or destructive, but it would fall comparatively harmless were it not for the support and sympathy it is constantly finding in the writings of these modern altruistic enthusiasts. To illustrate the point, a few selections are quoted without reference to the authors by name in most cases. An altruistic advocate of free silver says: "This tax would fall largely on the rich, who have become so by reason of vicious leg-

isolation causing the demonetization of silver which has taxed the farmer every dollar of his profits until the burden has become so great that he is unable longer to bear it."

A United States Senator, writing on the same subject, says: "The anarchists of wealth seek to absorb the earnings of the masses, by cunning and fraud."

Another reformer writes: "The divine right of kings,"—no matter whether of civil realms or of great accumulation,—and the divine right of professional money-lenders, to rule over and rob the people are twin superstitions conceived and begotten of injustice, born of social slavery and necessity, sanctioned by ignorance and bound together by a single ligament that forms a connecting link between the vitals of both. Destroy the one, and the other ultimately dies, through the operation of the law that binds demons no less than angels.

"An aristocracy which makes money the key to position and consideration is an unnatural creature, void of human sympathy and conscience, and therefore a constant menace to the spirit of democracy and the peace of society. Knowing that it has no valid title to distinction and power, it is always jealous of the assumed and fictitious claim, and will not hesitate to maintain it with force and murder, if necessary."

Another says: "All these millionaire commercial lords are animated by a single inspiration and purpose, no matter how vividly they may differ socially and in personal organization."

"And what, let me ask, has lifted these men out of the ordinary walks of common average life and transformed them into bold dictators of their fellows and cold indifferent witnesses of a constantly-moving and enlarging panorama of misery for which they and their system are responsible?"

Let us read the answer of this altruistic advocate of "brotherly love," when he asks the question, "What has lifted these men, millionaires, out of the ordinary walks and ways and average life?" Here it is: "The pursuit and possession of vast private wealth through which they have become morally emasculated."

"THE USES OF RICH MEN IN A REPUBLIC."

"Why should the rich make gifts to the public at all? This is a very wide and deep question which might carry us very far. It is enough for my present purpose to show that it has been recognized as a social, moral and religious duty in all civilized times, and that it is still recognized in theory and from time to time practiced in a way by many. The old republican conception of society was saturated with this principle as the antidote and compensation of glaring inequality amongst citizens. The Christian religion took it up as the corner-stone of its practice. The churches were incessantly repeating how God loveth a cheerful giver, and charged the rich that they be ready to give. Unhappily, this excellent advice took a very narrow and inadequate form, and has in our days been interpreted to mean a modest subscription to a church, hospital, or blanket club. And now, when the fervor of Christian charity is waning, and the zeal of giving half one's goods like Zaccheus is abated, there are very many rich men who never give at all, except what fashion dictates, and who entirely ignore the social obligation imposed on them by great wealth. Princes and grandees are more or less passing away as a social institution. The rich have succeeded to their powers; and they must remember that they have succeeded to their obligations.

"My own creed, on which this is not the time or place to enlarge, teaches me that in our industrial age all wealth is really the product of thousands working together in ways of which they are not conscious, and with complex and subtle relations that no analysis can apportion. The rich man is simply the man who has managed to put himself at the end of the long chain, or into the centre of an intricate convolution, and whom society and law suffer to retain the joint product conditionally; partly because it is impossible to apportion the just shares of the coöperators, and partly because it is the common interest that the product should be kept in a mass and freely used for the public good. But this personal appropriation of wealth is a social convention, and purely

conditional on its proving to be convenient. The great problem which the next century will have seriously to take in hand and finally solve is this:—Are rich men likely to prove of any real social use—or will it be better for society to abolish the institution? For my own part, I see many ways in which they can be of use, and I earnestly invite them to convince the public of this before it is too late.”

The last quotation is from the “Forum,” the editor of which says of the author :

“Mr. Frederic Harrison (“Uses of Rich Men in a Republic”) was born in 1831, and in 1853 was elected Fellow and tutor at Oxford. He became a barrister, and, in 1877, was appointed Professor of Jurisprudence and International Law by the Council of Legal Education. He is the chief exponent of the Positivist school.”

In the language of the political Solon, “Where are we at?” What are we coming to when philosophers have become so dead to reason and common-sense?

“THE VENGEANCE OF DESPAIR.”

From another source I take the following revolutionary lines, written by a refined, sensitive, but emotionally unhealthy woman—

“Beware the hands that beg in supplication now;
Their time will come, and then God help us; God help all
Who through their years of plenty paid not all they owed
To want!”

“EMMA GOLDMAN IS GUILTY.”

Such was the head-line in a “Daily” on the morning of October 9th, 1893.

“In charging the jury, Judge Martine told them that, while the constitution of the state and of the United States guaranteed free speech, it was in no law admitted that free speech is license for that kind of speech which is likely to incite to violence.

“‘When the time comes,’ said the judge, ‘that this community cannot, within the forms of the law, maintain peace and order, chaos has come, that chaos which seems to be earnestly longed for—by some.’”

The reader need not think the writer inclined to anarchy. On the contrary, I do say, and with all the power my pen is capable of, that if Emma Goldman was guilty of breaking the laws, then the refined and educated woman who wrote and published the above poetry was a thousand times more so.

It is time for some one to cry a halt to this kind of insanity. It means danger and destruction to us all. As will be shown, our very institutions are founded or built over such a cataclysmatic social volcano.

Is that the end and aim of altruistic philosophy? Is that the result of following out the first moral motive? If so, then altruism is the most immoral tendency social science has to contend with. In the altruistic sense, has no one but the millionaire any "individual duty to the community"? Is it simply because they are such that they alone are to be condemned? Are there no comparative millionaires among the so-called poor? Are there no petty Shylocks among them? Does the law of the struggle for existence automatically stop its work with the birth of millionaires? Are the laws of generation any different for the rich than the poor? These are pertinent questions.

"THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS."

The pictures which we have of justice indicate an exact equilibrium of the scales. They do not indicate that there is one law by which to judge the rich and another by which to estimate the poor, in which is included the plastic poor, the criminal poor and the imbecile and physically poor? Is there any immorality whatever in the "pursuit" of riches as such? Does not the moral law of self-protection itself force one to seek riches to the best of his ability? Is it not immoral not to do so? Let us at once consider what are the possible disturbances of the equilibrium of this moral law of self-protection. They are:

1. A minus in intelligent self-protection.
2. A plus of self-threatening activity in the same direction.
3. An absolute want in intelligence, or a pathological neglect of the principle.

We will consider these disturbances in the order named.

(a) As to the minus in intelligent self-protection. It is a generally accepted fact that every man should support himself. Only women have been exempted from the rule. We are taught to pity and help those who are not born with the necessary ability. Are the rich so utterly un-mindful of the needs of the poor? We have heard extolled the beneficence of one George Peabody, of the schools and libraries of Carnegie, of the Vanderbilt Hospital, of the munificence of Rockefeller; of the liberality of John Hopkins and hosts of others. We will discuss the motives of these men later on, whether or not they were not somewhat influenced by vanity or by a superstitious regard for what a clergyman friend uniquely terms "celestial dividends." In general they are credited with an individual regard for their "duty to the community." Have not the majority of our rich men constant but unheard-of calls on their generosity to "feed and clothe the poor"? Are their so-called "extravagances" all vicious? When a Vanderbilt builds a steam yacht to cost a half million dollars and spends a hundred thousand or so to annually run her, is his action all vicious, even though it may not have an iota of altruistic purpose in it? Did he not indirectly employ labor to delve the iron from the mines, to forge it into steel; to mould her massive machinery? Does it not require labor to produce her annual consumption of coal and provisions and to man her? Is the building of the four "cup defenders" all wasteful extravagance when it costs and disburses not less than half a million dollars among the laboring classes to defend that precious mug and uphold individual and national vanity? During the summer of 1893 there were some four hundred steam and sail yachts, marvels of human ingenuity and artistic beauty, in the harbor of Newport, costing probably not less than four millions dollars and distributing certainly not less than a million this season among the wage-earners and producers of the country. At that very time we were reading of national bankruptcy, of mills being shut down and thousands of wage-earners forced into idleness or more or less suffering. Thousands of dollars were spent in luxurious dinners and much in thoughtless carousals that were certainly not morally or

physically self-protective to those engaged, and which assuredly will have their later reaction in disturbing the moral equilibrium of many of those participating. But was this apparently heedless extravagance all criminal? Was there not much that was nationally self-protective in it? Is it not a question after all if (as there were probably 100,000 sailor wage-earners in that fleet, with a larger 100,000 of wives and children dependent on them, with the coal and provision consumed and the labor being paid for) there could have been any more moral, both national and individual self-protective, way of "squandering" such a vast amount of money? It went into the hands of actual self-supporting labor. Would it not have been more immoral, could such a thing have been, had these millionaires met together, and estimated their season's expense, and resolved to tie up their yachts that season, and put the sum into a purse and give it to some altruistic association to disburse among the poor who have not the natural abilities of intelligent self-protection, rather than spend it in the employ of men of a sufficient ability to take care of themselves and families if the yacht owners only indulged in their customary annual "extravagance"? Why should the rich be held up to ridicule or to the hatred of those who either have not the ability to protect themselves, or who are too indolent to, or so vicious that they will not, by these reformers any more than the latter classes, should be unjustly condemned when born with a lack of self-protective individualism?

Where individuals are born with a minus of self-protective individuality; or where, from any cause, they fail to exert it, their immoral condition must be a disturbance to their equilibrium or to that of society, and react to their discomfort or injury. The same is true of society as an individual. Where there is not a ruling self-protective intelligence in the community the over or minus action of individuals is permitted and a consequent disturbance of the social equilibrium results. Where the community exercises an unintelligent over-self-protectiveness, such as the suppression of free speech, or innocent amusement, or the execution of the Sunday laws, it causes a feeling of individual resentment that frequently ends in revolution or public disturbance; and, though morally right, the

individual, or individuals suppressed must suffer equally if not more than the community. It must now be self-evident that all morality is the result of the ability to intelligently apply the law of self-protection by the individual to himself and society as an individual to itself.

We now come to our second disturbances of the moral equilibrium—an unintelligent or reckless plus of individual action. Notwithstanding Mr. Huxley says that the "ethical process" has no relation to the cosmic process, he admits that success in the struggle for existence must depend on the individual possessing the necessary ability. This ability can be summed up in one expression: the will to attain or possess, and the might to maintain possession. If instead of the word "will" we say "desire" to attain, we shall speak more correctly perhaps. It can be assumed that all people, except imbeciles, possess this "desire" to a varying degree. All, when in a moral self-protective condition, desire to live, and must of necessity desire the means to live by. The disturbance of the individual moral equilibrium comes mostly in regard to the power or might to hold to the things really attainable. This ability I have termed previously the "might to can," or the ability to do. Both desire and might are dependent on the amount of individualism born in us. We acknowledge this when we speak of one person possessing a marked degree of individuality and of another not having enough. The individualism of a person is the character of his individuality. The only accusation which Huxley and other altruists can bring against the millionaire is that they are born with too much self-protective individualism. That is the true answer to the question of the altruist who asked: "What has lifted these men out of the ordinary ranks and walks of life and incited them to the pursuit of vast private wealth?" Whether or not they have become "morally emasculated," as he says, depends on whether they have exerted their self-protectiveness to a degree threatening a reaction on the part of others dangerous to themselves? That such a reaction is imminent is admitted. We see it first in business upheaval, which throws honest men out of work, and second in the ravings of anarchists and social revolutionists. We see it supported by the criminally immoral publication of such

rank stuff as has been quoted from the writings of men who, in the generally-accepted sense, are surely examples of moral perfection. The question is, is the average millionaire so much to blame as the poor and irresponsible either really think, or are led to assume, by these unintelligent altruistic enthusiasts? I am not afraid to take the part of the millionaires and say: "They are not necessarily to blame." No one who knows the writer would ever accuse him of ever cringing to anything human or super-human for a favor or being guilty even of any great degree of that intelligent self-protection known as policy.

THE CAUSES AT THE BOTTOM OF OUR SOCIAL MISERY.

1. Causus-major. Ignorance!
2. The unintelligence of the wage-earning as well as irresponsible and criminal classes supported by theological tradition.
3. The insane "Equality" doctrine in our Constitution.
4. Immigration, excited by land-speculators, manufacturers and the corrupt politics of the country.
5. The over-protectiveness of class-legislation in favor of protection, which robs the many for the benefit of the aggressively over-protective few.
6. National political corruption and depravity.
7. The over-protective anxiety of the rich continually excited by the persistency of the previously-named conditions.

Summed up:

The ever-augmenting severity in the struggle for existence due to all the above causes. In an intelligent, self-protective sense, no one is the friend of another, unless that other contributes to his self-protectiveness in manifold ways, to be discussed later on; on the other hand, in the same sense, we must continually watch the balance of the community and interest ourselves in their welfare. The only correct "golden-rule" is to do unto others as you do unto yourself.

We have a generally accepted expression that "he who is true to himself is true to the world," or as Professor Royce expresses it, "always be true to your own rational higher self." That is, in accordance with the intelligent

application of the law of self-protection. The altruistic blaming of millionaires is made in entire ignorance of the idiosyncratic working of this law of self-protection. From personal conversation with many a millionaire, for such men are more interested in these social problems than ordinary people are aware of, I know that many of them are financial business cowards, and that this cowardice leads to an immoral, or over-exertion of their self-protectiveness. They actually live in dread of being poor in their old age. They, and they only, realize the hard road over which they have travelled from a poor boy on the farm or some like position, to their millions, and of the magnificent ease with which a fortune can escape a man's grasp. Their acute self-protectiveness has made them aware of the vicissitudes of our social and business jungles as no poor man, with a big minus of intelligence in the same direction, is aware of. The intellectual pocket of a self-made millionaire is a very sensitive financial barometer. Then why place all the blame for social and financial misfortune on them? Our present financial disturbances are more due to the immoral self-protectiveness of the man of small means than the millionaires of the country. The Hon. Thomas Reed recently said, that \$190,000,000 had been withdrawn from the banks of the country and privately hidden away since the panic began. Was it the millionaires who were thus timid? They could not do it! They have their immense business to attend to and have been driven to the very verge of their self-protective abilities to save themselves. Suppose the millionaire business man had followed the immoral course of the timid man of small funds what would have become of the wage-earners and small producers?

The majority of our millionaires were born with the desire to pursue wealth and might to obtain, and retain possession of it. I mean millionaires by self-acquisition, like Cornelius Vanderbilt who started as poor boy and ran an oar-ferry-boat between New York City and Staten Island; as Jay Gould who started equally poor from a farm; as Andrew Carnegie who came to us from the craggy hills of bonnie Scotland; of Phillip Armour with his magnificent beneficence and industrial school for poor

children ; of Nelson Morris, who came here and began life as boot-black and boy-of-all-dirty-work around the Chicago stock-yards. I am not claiming any of these men were born "Saints." Earth has no place for such, whatever room there may be for them in the Unknown. Altruists would have us believe that such men were "abusing their trusts." What trusts? Who gave them any such responsibility? Who gave them any other trust than the natural law of self-protection gives them? It is a very dangerous ground to say that under general conditions the millionaire has not a just right to everything he has, as the product of his abilities. I do not believe in fortunes made in wind-stock gambling, but it takes ability to win them. If we, the people do not like it, we have the power in our own hands. Justice demands that the fault be placed where it belongs and not in the emotional or vicious condemnation of natural ability. I challenge any altruistic, or fanatical reformer, any anarchistic would-be destroyer, to assert the immorality of such men having been born. If there is any immorality in their "pursuit of wealth," it lies in their parents (or the God) who made them as they are and gave them the desire to work, the ability to work, and the might to retain the results of their labors.

The real conflict these men had is not against the poor, as these altruists assert, but between themselves. Active business is as much a "dog-eat-dog" combat as it is between the wage-earners for bread. The only difference is that the dogs are bigger and stronger and the battle fiercer. 'Tis true that the wage-earners have frequently to suffer in the results. Are the rich entirely to blame for that? They alone, have not made our present uneasy social environment. The unintelligent self-protectiveness of the poor, the rabid demagogism of unreflecting reformers and parasitic socialistic agitators, are a thousand times more to blame than the conservative, self-protective rich, the great fault of whom is that they "mind their own business," and attend to it and leave the public business, except as it interests them, to the politicians. Why not blame the poor and unfortunate for being born with a minus of the might to attain and retain the results of their labors, or the desire to labor? Only recently a

very successful young man whom I knew when he worked in a sewer to get his education in a western university, was in my room and I read him the rough draft of this paper. He told me that the summer he so labored, that, though married, he saved \$80, where scarcely one of the other laborers on the same pay saved a cent, and that he studied them, and they thought him a perfect wonder. Was he not a comparative millionaire among those men? They did not hate him for it. But, suppose some altruist, or some non-working labor agitator, had come along and told those laborers, working in the ditch: this man is robbing you, he has become "morally emasculated," and they had lost their reason and mobbed or killed him, what then? He was born dreadfully poor, except in his own natural abilities, as poor, perhaps, as any one of his companions. Was not his companionship and success of incomparable moral worth to the other men as an example, or was he a moral menace to their welfare, a millionaire wolf in the midst of a flock of innocent hard-working lambs? There is a phrase "that any man who makes two blades of grass grow where one grew before is a public benefactor." The populist farmers of the west are very fond of this phrase in praising themselves. Is not a man like Cornelius Vanderbilt, or Jay Gould, who makes his millions, but in doing so, makes work for thousands, where none existed a thousandfold more so? Admitted that men possessing this surplus of natural self-protectiveness carry it to an aggressive degree sometimes, thus shutting off those less fitted from opportunities, it is doubtful if they could appropriate to their own use; admitted that in the mutual struggles they adopt methods which lead to mutual injury and destruction, and thereby injure others, or even disturb the nation; admitted that in their intense business rivalry and pursuit of wealth they do lose sight of the morality of the law of self-protectiveness so as to injure others, and threaten their own prosperity, still, I say, that is no reason for holding them up to those less gifted as thieves, robbers and men "who will not hesitate to maintain themselves with force and murder if necessary." I challenge these altruists (the last quotation is of altruistic not anarchistic origin) to show me one single case where a millionaire business man

has, in his senses, done or countenanced one such act? Andrew Carnegie or H. C. Frick and the Homestead affair may be thrown at me, but I assert it was the political cowardice of the local authorities and Governor of Pennsylvania who were to blame and not the Carnegie people, who had to assume the place of the State in protecting what was, in one sense, the peace of the community. The merit of the strike is another question. All I say is, that had the State been true in intelligently applying the law of public protection no murder would have been possible, or active hostilities thought of. At that time, we saw representatives of the people, sympathizing with the rioters and murderers in public speeches in the halls of Congress for political purposes. Benedict Arnolds were those men, both to the laborers and their country. They should have received the same punishment; or, better, confinement in a lunatic asylum. Where and when the millionaire oversteps the bounds of the moral law of self-protection by over-action, it is for society through its representative intelligence to awaken his self-protective intelligence by legal means, that such overt action has a possible unpleasant reaction, but not for altruistic agitators to incite the ignorant and disreputable to equalize matters by murder and the destruction of property. If the public, as such, has not intelligence to protect itself, it should not be claimed that individuals must neglect their duty to themselves to protect the public. After twenty years' vain endeavor to awaken the public to a sense of self-protection in infectious diseases, and ruining my health and pocket, I have learned that a man is a lunatic who tries to serve the public when dead to its own interests. The time never was when the public rewarded man, until it had become aware of his self-protective value. The laborer is worthy of his hire and free public service is as absurd as "looking a gift-horse in the mouth." I believe in the "divine right of self-made kings," or such as are "to the manor born" by their own innate abilities. We all do unless we are fools. We cheerfully imitate the evolutionary development of the primary origin of real kings, when we subject ourselves to the "kingly rule" of the best boy in our class to be the leader in class rivalry in our school-

games. We honor the "valedictorian," even if he so often disappoints us in after-life; even the wage-earner, the anarchists and socialists readily permit their "best man" to lead in their endeavors. The knowledge of their lack in self-protective force forces them to it. It is natural.

Kingly rule found its origin in the weaker people gladly yielding themselves to the supremacy of the one among them who had that surplus of self-protectiveness that they felt he made up for their own individual lack of it in order to protect themselves as a community. We often hear it said, that the private possession of property found its origin in violence and robbery. Such an assertion is absolutely false. It found its origin in the concession of the masses to the value of the superior ability of their leaders as communal protectors, in the early conflicts of tribes or communes, when all the "booty" (boodle) was first collected and then divided, the "king" receiving his extra share for his services by the will of those benefited. The assertion that "ancient law knows nothing of individuals," by Sir Henry Maine, having reference to property, is erroneous. Ancient individualism prior to such a date, only recognized weapons of self-defence as individual property. Maine's remarks have reference to communal land-ownership, a much later period. It is not even the really intelligent plus of self-protective individualism of the millionaire which threatens our social body so much as it is the minus of protective ability in the poor and the (apparent) neglect of it in the agitator, who has also a dangerous plus, for he "toils not neither does he spin." He talks! These altruists and labor reformers are too frequently "barking up the wrong tree." The "coon" is in the ill-bred, the ignorant and the criminal, and not in the millionaire. These well-meaning reformers are grossly immoral because they are inciting these classes to unintelligently neglect the law of individual self-protection and to acts which can only react to their own injury. The origin of the ethical process is not to be sought in any all-pervading Intelligence, but in the cosmic law. Huxley asserts there is no right in natural individualism. But, when natural individualism so ignores the law of self-protection as to

threaten the same thing in the masses, then they unite and present a greater individualism, and for his own self-protection "the king" intelligently yields to a greater might and a right is made by the masses for themselves. In this way have the so-called "rights" been established. In the past it has been at a terrible cost, both to the masses and "the kings." It is for the future to establish and maintain by an intelligent selection of representative and just men the social equilibrium between individualism of the "kings" on the one side and that of the people on the other, and to educate all that the moral law of self-protection cannot be disturbed without danger to all concerned.

Huxley's assertion that the ethical processes are not the logical evolution of cosmic life, and that they consist chiefly in "laws and precepts directed to the end of curbing the cosmic process and reminding the individual of his duty to the community" instead of himself may be entirely overthrown by considering the hypothetical life of Robinson Crusoe as actual. In Huxley's and the altruistic sense, it would have been absolutely impossible for Crusoe to be immoral on his island before his "man Friday" appeared on the scene. There was no possibility of his doing anything unto others. There was no community to whom he owed anything. He could not possibly have broken either of the ten moral spokes of the decalogue. There was no one else's welfare for him to consider as the "first moral motive." He therefore must have been a moral man. It may be assumed that he was a "good Catholic," though I forget the record on that important point, perhaps he was a Unitarian, though he may have been a Theosophist. But in spite of this, was it not possible for Crusoe to have broken the law of individualistic self-protection by some wilful rupture of the cosmic physiological laws? Might he not have wilfully exposed his life out of ennui? These few suggestions speak more forcibly than any wordy argument in favor of individual ethics having their primary origin in the basic law of self-protection. There is no escape from it. Evolution is founded on the cosmic process, and no legerdemain of finite man can separate him from the cosmos, body or mind, and transfer his ethical nature to

some extra-cosmotic intelligence, which pervades all and yet has no origin in it and no direct connection with it.

CONSCIENCE.

What is conscience? The ordinary moralist will tell us that it is some kind of "inward monitor," or "ethical process," placed, but not developed, in us by the Supreme Intelligence, in order that we may automatically distinguish between right and wrong. Certainly such a definition is in conflict with cosmic law! But which right and which wrong? Such a definition requires a "Supreme Intelligence," for nearly all the different peoples of the earth and many communities. We have the Catholics, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, and Unitarians, (etc. etc.), each of which must have their own special "ethical process," for they would (except the Unitarians), each deny the full saving value of the ethical process (conceived) of the other. The ethical process of the Mormon would not accord with that of the Christian, any more than it would with that of the Mohammedan. The ethical process of the silver-mine owners is certainly at discord with the financial conscience of the balance of the country. That of the southern slaveholder, though supported, as he thought, by "God and the Constitution," was not in sweet moral harmony with that of Garrison, Parker and those whom we now delight to honor as among the noblest of men. Woman, that delightfully conscientious creation of Huxley's superhuman ethical process, is by no means in accord as to Paul's teaching that "wives should be subject to their husbands." It makes a profound difference where one is and what he steals whether the ethical process as to robbing is of any controlling value or not, and so on with each of the ten flats of the profound and all-pervading Intelligence. Is there then nothing which may be truly called a Moral Conscience, which is in accord with the Cosmos, and has continually evolved in accordance with the heterogeneity of man's social institutions? Certainly there is.

Conscience is that highly evolved mental condition which enables the individual to so accurately weigh the import of his own actions that he is so successfully self-

protective that neither an intra nor extra-organismal reaction (from environment) is possible.

THE GROSS IMMORALITY IN CHRISTIANITY.

The reader is begged to "possess his soul with patience." The time has come in the evolution of man when the truth must be spoken. Understand, by "Christianity" is not meant any theological interpretation; or any interpretation warranted by the Messiah-traditions of Judaism; or the "ideal" Christianity of modern rationalistic theologians and people. On the contrary, I do mean the Christianity of the Man Jesus as detailed in the gospels in words said to be his own, and only after careful and considerate comparison. That is considered in regard to the truth of my own conclusions. Truth! Truth! What an expressive word! What misery, what injustice, what martyrdom does it express! Fateful indeed beyond all words is the simple one Truth. Well said that philosophic ancient, "Truth is the mightiest of all things." It is a social Juggernaut which, while pursuing its relentless course, crushes he who proclaims it under-foot. It is a boomerang which returns to slay him who shoots forth the fateful bolt. On the altars of truth has the manhood of the race been sacrificed. Mightier and truer Saviours than the gospel Jesus have borne its cross and crown of prickly thorns. The spikes of ignorance have pierced the flesh of its apostles. He who dares speak the unvarnished truth generally digs his own grave. Posterity erects his gravestone as a vicarious atonement for the ignorance of its ancestors.

In the preceding pages the dangerous tendencies of altruism have been shown. It was the intention to leave the subject, as there ended; but just as they were closed it so happened that the multi-millionaire of Massachusetts, Mr. Frederick L. Ames, died, and some anarchistic editorials in the Boston "Herald" on his death again invited me to take up the cudgel in favor of natural ability, and to consider still more profoundly the causes of this unfounded and bitter warfare, for the robbery of ability in favor of the inability and viciousness in the land. Do not forget that in any healthy mind "pity is the

mother of contempt." Any one who will take Thomas Paine's motto, as a working rule, and leave all precedent behind him, and discard all human traditions as if non-existing, and then read the gospels as he would this book, for instance, cannot help coming to the conviction that they are the very hot-bed of social immorality. If they will follow us in the study they will become well convinced of the fact. In another place it has been asserted that the Gospels teach anarchy pure and simple, and that did people not think atavistically, did they look on Christianity with the same skepticism they do any business proposition, they would admit it. In advancing the axiom that the basis of all morality is to be sought in the bio-cosmic law of self-protection, the philosopher's stone, on which humanity can and must advance, or deteriorate, the keystone of the social structure has been found. When it is asserted that Christianity is grossly immoral, it must be proven that it is a dangerous menace to the self-protective equilibrium of man individually and man socially, whether in communities, states, or nations, or man as a universal whole. Any factor which threatens to dangerously disturb that equilibrium is immoral. All sensible men, thousands of whom affirm to that post hoc ergo propter hoc traditional superstition known as Christianity most determinedly oppose modern anarchists and their doctrines. While it has been demonstrated beyond power of contradiction that the Gospels teach both socialism and anarchy; that their "brotherhood of man" is simply that and nothing more, the "World's Congress" at Chicago gave us an opportunity to make the assertion still more impregnable. Not to be outdone, the anarchists also had their Congress, and on his way thither Johann Most was interviewed and the result published in the Boston "Herald" of September 17, 1893. Some two thousand years since Jesus and James also expressed themselves to their respective communes and associates, and it is really instructive, and may prove shocking to many comatose intellects, to find all three uttering the same thing, though in different words—

JERUSALEM.

Christian Conference, A. D.,
"0."

Jesus: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell what thou hast and give to the poor and thou shalt have treasures in heaven."

James: "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted and your garments moth-eaten."

Jesus: "I come not to send peace but a sword." "Verily I say unto you that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven."

CHICAGO.

Anarchistic Congress, A. D.,
1893.

Johann Most: "I will go to Chicago advocating the seizure of the wealth of the capitalists and its division among the poor."

Come now, reader, let us be honest with ourselves! Let us for the nonce forget that we ever had a mother who nursed and watched over us, or a father who did well his part, or a long line of "honorable" Christian ancestors, or that the respectable world has thought certain things were true and fundamental for two thousand years. Let us, with glorious old Tom Paine, go to our own natures and think for ourselves. Though the language is different, though Johann Most boldly says just what he would do with the Christian capitalists, if he could, does he say anything different than his socialistic predecessors Jesus and James? Really is not Johann Most the kindest and most considerate? He advocates robbing the capitalist, but does not threaten to take all future hope from him! Jesus, on the other hand, tells the capitalist he must entirely neglect the law of self-protection for the benefit of himself and his followers and become an equal communal-mendicant with them, or else his entire future is lost. The practical business man should not forget that the young man to whom Jesus spoke had fulfilled all the commandments of God in the decalogue, and that this was admitted by Jesus. Here, then, was rebellion. The Son either denied the Father, or God contradicted himself, whichever way one cares to take it. James shows his saintly character by holding the rich up to the whole world as objects of derision in such a manner that those born poor are fully warranted in going to any

extreme, even to Johann Most's, against such vile persons. Why do people condemn and in many ways dread the sentiments of Johann Most and still profess faith, even unto death and beyond it, in the same sentiments when uttered by Jesus and James? Is it not because if Most's advice were followed that it would seriously interfere with the law of individual and social self-protection on earth? Come now, come up to the mark of an honest barometrically sensitive appreciation of the law of self-protection, does not modern anarchy find its very "mother's breast," and nutritive milk in the teachings of the gospels and epistles? Come, you successful "Christian merchants;" you lawyers who are indeed "Christians," in that you, more than any one but the clergy, continually imperil the mutual law of self-protection by your intrigues; come now, I say, think as business men, whom shall we denounce the most severely, Johann Most the anarchist of 1893, or Jesus and James, the communists of A. D. — ?

Stop and do a little thinking! Christianity, and every form of altruism, must be banished from influence before the law of self-protection can be intelligently adjusted to the needs of the individual and the state by man and woman individually. The anarchist of to-day says "take;" the socialistic originator of Christianity says, "give" or the gates of eternal happiness will be closed to the capitalist. The one takes from; the other "holds up the hands" of natural ability! What for? To support the natural inability of the world!

CHRISTIANITY THE GOSPEL OF INABILITY.

It has always been admitted that Christianity was the "Gospel of the poor." In our childhood, sitting by our fond mother's knee, on a Sabbath afternoon, especially in winter, as the sun sank in his illuminated crimson bed of glory behind the western snow-clad hill-tops, as it only can in New England, and she read, with the reverence of ignorant superstition, the traditional story of the "Child Jesus" and called our attention to the "wonders," of the "Beatitudes" in the "Sermon on the Mount," how we too have shed tears of imbecilic sympathy and in-

wardly resolved "to die for Jesus," and to devote our lives to the amelioration of human misery regardless of self. That is what I assume to be altruism. Professor Royce tells us, that the "first moral motive is to live for the general good." Huxley says that "to live for the general good" is contrary to the "cosmic law" or laws of nature; in which he is absolutely right, and being unwilling to "think as if he was the first man that ever thought," and being "no longer an agnostic," he tells us, that "laws and moral precepts are directed to the end of curbing the cosmic process and reminding the individual of his duty to the community, to the protection and influence of which he owes, if not existence itself, at least the life of something better than a savage." While Spencer correctly sees that morality can be accounted for in evolution, he too is altruistic and asserts that man's life should be directed to the general good, though he allows something for self-sustenance. Spencer's assumption that Justice is altruistic is erroneous. Justice is simply the establishment of the self-protective equilibrium between two opposing individuals in order that the general equilibrium be not disturbed. The whole drama is self-protective and individualistic. Altruism is socialistic. True and undefiled altruism is to live for the general good, utterly without hope for individual benefit, either in a traditional heaven, or in the praises of humanity. It absolutely ignores the law of self-protection.

In denying any hope for the future to the rich man, unless he impoverish himself, and in ever holding out hopes and rewards to inability it seems to me that gross immorality against the laws of the cosmos, was never more marked than in the deceptively beautiful Sermon on the Mount, with perhaps the exception of the altruism to the peacemakers. Read the Beatitudes and think! Apply the principles there inculcated to yourself and say: "Is the writer or the Jesus of the Gospels the one who should be indicted?"

THE BEATITUDES ACCORDING TO CHRISTIANITY.

"Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

"Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.

"Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth,

"Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness : for they shall be filled.

"Blessed are the merciful : for they shall obtain mercy.

"Blessed are the pure in heart : for they shall see God.

"Blessed are the peacemakers : for they shall be called the children of God.

"Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake : for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

"Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.

"Rejoice and be exceeding glad : for great is your reward in heaven : for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you."

"Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth * * * but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven.

"Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat ? or what shall we drink ? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed ? for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things.

"Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

There is not a Christian who would deny that the Biblical version of the Beatitudes was not as correct an exemplification of the real spirit of Christianity as one could quote. Yet, while on the face different to the version according to the Gospel of Inability, have they not much of the same spirit ?

The truth of our accusation against Christianity could not be better demonstrated than in the following article from a writer who is well known to be the ablest leader the Farmers' Alliance and Populist movement has in the West.

THE CHRISTIAN SYSTEM, BY A CHRISTIAN.

"We have now reached the inquiry which is the object of these articles. How does it happen that the Christian system, embracing as it does, all that might make life what it should be, a happy sojourn in the islands of the blest, should be, through a period of nineteen hundred years, amid advancing civilization and almost unbounded material progress, submerged and destroyed by the system which is its opposite in every particular, which mars the godlike and develops the satanic in the human character ? In striving to answer this question we may learn whether there is any remedy, whether there is any hope of lifting humanity to the higher plane which must

have been limned in the dreams of every philanthropist, philosopher and sage.

"When Christ came into the world he found the competitive system in full possession, as shown by the quotations from Plato in the first of these articles. There was no change in this particular from the time of Plato and Socrates up to the day of Christ's advent as a teacher of the people of Judea. Christ found, indeed, a tottering religion—a religion of mere forms and superstitions, and a priesthood which, having held the people for centuries in the bonds of pagan superstition, was fast losing its hold upon men's minds by the light of advancing intelligence. It was Juvenal, we think, who said, in the first century after Christ, that the augurs of Rome could not meet each other in the streets without laughing in their sleeves, so hollow and shameless had the mockeries of their creed become. Without discussing the divinity of Christ, or bringing it into the question in any way, it will be seen that it was easy to substitute a religion which appealed to men's hearts, imaginations, hopes—a pure creed which preached love, and turned blank despair into the brilliant glory of heaven and immortality, for a hollow mockery of forms which had ceased to command even the respect of its teachers. So it is not surprising that within the fourth century after Christ the new religion had subjugated Christendom.

"But we now run against the saddest fact in our inquiry. Religion is a theory. As a theory, the religion of Christ gained a mastery over men's minds and souls. But Christ encountered the iron forms of institutions—the competitive system as an institution—money, its chief instrument, as an institution—business as an institution—and individualism as an institution, evolved from the competitive system, money, and business. He had no institution to offset against these. He had only a holy and beneficent theory—a theory, indeed, which all men accepted, as a theory, but which the iron sway of institutions has held in subordination to this day.

"What were the practical teachings of Christ and his apostles can be inferred by the practices of the primitive Christians during what may be termed the crucial period of Christianity, viz.: from the crucifixion to

the destruction of Jerusalem. These practices may be gathered from the New Testament and from contemporary history. These primitive Christians were despisers of riches. There were none among them who had more than another. Every one's possessions were mingled with every other one's possessions, and there was only one patrimony among them. A common danger of persecution and extinction led them to organize themselves into a secret fraternity with private means for mutual recognition. They were scattered in different cities and when they traveled, what they found among their brethren in other places was free to their use as if it were their own, and they went among strangers of their own sect as if they had always known them. This was a regular Christian habit, and accords with St. Paul's expression, "given to hospitality." They carried nothing with them when they traveled into remote parts. This was in accord with Christ's own orders (St. Luke, x., 3, 4:) 'Go your way. Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes.' They were eminent for fidelity, and were the ministers of peace. Whatsoever they said was firmer than an oath; but swearing was avoided by them. They esteemed it worse than perjury. They showed their faith in the precepts of the new religion and their firm belief in immortality by their contempt of death. Although tortured and distorted, burnt and torn to pieces, yet they would not flatter their tormentors, or shed a tear, but smiled in their very torments.

"Here was a new creed wielding a remarkable power over men's minds—over the minds and lives of those who were nearest to its founder. Its maxims were of such a divinely pure texture that for nineteen hundred years they have been held up as the purest and most perfect rules of action that have ever been devised. But they have not triumphed in a practical point of view. They dominate to-day as a theory only. Practically the competitive system is as much in the ascendant as it was in the days of Plato, Christ, or Hadrian. The fundamental principles of Christ's creed are taught to-day as something new—as ideas in advance of our present civilization, and they are denounced and sneered at by the great majority as 'communism,' 'socialism,' or 'nationalism.'

“Why?

“Is it from any cause inherent in human nature? I think not. Nature and human nature have remained unchanged through the ages. The variation of the north star has not equalled two seconds in four thousand years. Man’s ambition is the same as when Alexander marched his squadrons past the unnoted ruins of Nineveh and Babylon. It is safe to say that the same conditions and surroundings operating upon the mind of man to-day would produce the same results upon his character as they would have produced before Noah built the ark.

“The wherefore we are seeking may be found in the educational force of institutions, as opposed to the educational force of preceptual instruction; in the force of object lessons as opposed to theory; in the kindergarten method as opposed to rules formulated in words. Christ found the competitive system, with its auxiliaries, money and profit, and its rewards of success in wealth, distinction and power over fellow-men, and its punishments for failure in penury, want, misery and death, as an established institution among men. This institution permeated and controlled, as it does to-day, all other institutions of human society. Every twig and branch of the social tree is grown from that fertile but poisonous soil. It takes the child before it leaves its mother’s breast and begins to mould its character, and from that time on until it is ready to be laid in its grave every lesson of its life is in the same direction. It is taught the value of money at the start. A toy bank is among its first acquisitions. It is taught that its comforts and enjoyments depend upon the amount of money that it or its parents or guardians can command to obtain them. This object-lesson is intensified by the sight of poverty and distress which it is taught could be alleviated by the possession of wealth. Its school education begins and is carried forward on the same principle. It next learns that its social position depends upon its success in getting—that success is measured by the extent of getting. Possession of wealth is the standard by which all achievements are measured, and either dwarfed or magnified by the comparison. Thus this institution moulds character—first the character of individuals, then the character of

society and the national structure. All laws, all other institutions, are shaped in the same inexorable mould.

“Slavery existed as an institution in part of this country from its foundation until the liberation of the slaves by the immortal Lincoln. As a theory, the declaration of independence also existed during the same period. Now, in the territory where slavery had a legal existence, which exerted the strongest formative power over human character, the actual concrete institution, or the theoretical, abstract, though legally dominant, declaration? No one will hesitate for a moment in giving the correct answer. Slavery dominated the family, the social fabric, the civil structure of the south. More than that, it dominated its religion. The Bible and Christ of the white men of the south were constrained to become the sponsors and mentors of as barbaric conditions as ever tarnished a human soul. Slavery was an institution. It began its formation of the character of the men who were born in its bonds with the hour when they first drew white milk from their black mammy’s breast, and continued through every day of their growth, until it became part of their nature.

“The atmosphere that surrounds men from their youth up, the habits of their daily lives, the objects they are taught to strive for, the great facts of their existence, which they accept as living principles from day to day—in other words the institutions of which they form an integral part and which form a part of them—as effectually determine their nature and the trend of their lives, as the law of God in their creation determines that they shall ‘have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that moveth upon the earth.’

“We have now found the answer to the great question which opens this article. It is, the educational force of institutions, pitted against the educational force of preceptual instruction. The competitive system is the oldest established institution of the earth. The system of Christ, as far as the actual realization of its fundamental precepts and its practical application in our daily lives is concerned, viz.: ‘Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you,’ has not yet reached the dignity of

an institution. It is preached upon, it is taught, it is inculcated by the churches and the priesthood—but it is a precept that is diametrically opposed to the fundamental principle of the competitive system, which is to-day the basis of our social fabric, the ark of the covenant of the daily lives of all men of all nations, viz.: ‘Get all you can and keep all you get,’ or that other expressive maxim, ‘Every one for himself and the devil take the hindmost.’ I use these saws in no spirit of levity, but state the actual fact as it exists to-day.

“In finding the answer to our question we have also found the remedy for the evil it asserts. The system must be changed. We may accomplish all subordinate reforms—we may reform our currency, nationalize our railroads, enfranchise women, and increase the production of wealth until the most extravagant dreams of Cræsus should be exceeded a thousand-fold, still, if we leave the competitive system in force, opulence on one hand and penury on the other will be the rule, and he who should be king will be beggar, and he who should be beggar will be king.

“The Christian system may become an institution, and may begin to mould the lives and characters of men, when the competitive system is replaced by a system whose motto is, “Each for all and all for each,” and never before.

“The noblest tribute I can pay to humanity—the surest and almost the only guarantee that we may safely hope for the day when the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man will be established in the earth—is the fact that human aspirations, sympathy and love are not utterly crushed out by the competitive system, and that all over the land there are, and always have been, noble souls who long to assist the suffering and develop human happiness—who long to ennoble their own characters and reach a higher plane of truth and happiness than lies within the scope of fashionable human endeavor.

“These people, if they are among the fortunate ones, having acquired or inherited a sufficiency of this world’s goods, may devote their lives to such efforts for their own or others’ advancement as they please. But they must be satisfied with the most meager personal results.

Every attempt to lift the general mass of men above the conditions of to-day will be unavailing as long as the present competitive system prevails. In fact, the keenest observers and most profound students think that the masses are on the down grade, as far as economic conditions are concerned, while the classes are growing more arrogant, aristocratic, unrepblican, greedy and grasping every year. The rock upon which every nation that has disappeared from the world's arena has been wrecked has been the aggrandizement of power by the few over the many. Our fathers thought by guaranteeing the largest personal liberty, by establishing individualism in its broadest sense and giving the competitive idea the widest scope, this danger would be obviated. But the result has been exactly the opposite. The only remedy in sight is in still greater concentration of all powers in the hands of the community for the good of the community. The alternative to this is the concentration of all powers in private hands or combinations for the destruction of the community."

The foregoing article is one of the most suggestive contributions I have ever read. It is suggestive for its honesty and for its profound ignorance and intense audacity. People talk about "Americanism" as if it were something as extra-human as is their conception of Deity. Americanism is indeed ultra-human in a very dangerous degree. The most exceeding Americanism known to me is the ultra-assumption of ignorance. It finds its justification in the "Declaration" and sanctification in the Constitution. No better expression of the real "platform" of the Populists is possible. It is a platform of ignorance. The know-nothingism of Americanism, which makes it only necessary to be born here to be inspired above other men not so fortunate, (twenty-four hours in the country at election times is requisite on the hot-oven incubator Americanization process), and fits one to be wise enough to "rule all creation," while knowing little more than to be able to read and write, is to be well seen in the above. The honesty of the article is in the admission that Jesusism has been on trial in its combat against Naturalism for 2000 years and utterly failed to be of any material benefit. The author, in another article asserts that "the struggle

for existence is incompatible with the existence of a human soul, which is a part of God." Yet, he admits that the "struggle for existence," which is but another name for his "competitive system" has successfully competed against God, Jesusism and the Holy Ghost for 2000 years. It will be observed that the Populist author admits the fallacy of depending on the very agency which Professor Huxley desires us to throw into the arena in the combat of the ignorant finite—against the infinite cosmos. Beyond that one honest admission the rest of the article is the most absurd ignorance. But what can be expected of a "leader" who denies "the struggle for existence," which is the sole cause for the existence of the party which he pretends to lead? Verily such a "soul" as that should be "immortal" (ized) as a terrible example of ignorance and inconsistency. The absurd unfitness of this "leader" of the people, and of the Populists for any kind of responsibility as citizens (if they indorse his opinions, as they most certainly do), is to be sought in the continued advice on his part that they take more and still stronger doses of that "coöperative system," which, according to his own admission, and their endorsement, is a failure after 2000 years' trial. Not only has it been on trial 2000 years, but as altruism, which it represents in an extreme form, man has tried to do away with the miseries of inequality in abilities by pharmaceutical instead of preventive measures for immeasurable thousands of years. The cumulative evidence that the natural struggle is stronger than the hypothetic God and his methods is too positively demonstrated in existing conditions to warrant any further trust in the old school of moral physicians and unsuitable medicine of ignorance.

"But, we run against the saddest fact in our inquiry. Religion is a theory. As a theory, the religion of Christ gained mastery over men's minds and souls." Poor, poor, "leader" of lost souls! "Religion a theory"! What admissions! What ignorance! Not a representative of all the learning at the World's Parliament of Religions, not a heathen idolater, made such an anarchistic and dynamitic admission as that. "Religion a theory." "Religion is the unification of man with God" is a definition of theological religion which is universally accepted.

This author tells us that "the immortal soul is part of God. The "brotherhood of man is the religion of Jesus," no Christian will deny that. Yet it is "the saddest fact" that "religion is a theory." Let us change the wording to, "theology is a hypothetical vision," and, like all such things impracticable, and we know why it has failed and why Jesusism has failed. Like Huxley's "ethical process," it's all vision. It is the absurdity of pitting the microcosm of finite ignorance against the macrocosm of infinite and eternal fact. "Religion a theory." Poor blind prophet! Learn of the wisdom, at places portrayed in the gospels which is not a theory, but axiomatic, and "cast out first the beam (of ignorance and superstition) from thine own eye, then shalt thou (perhaps be able) see clearly to pull the mote out" of thy poor deluded brother's eye, and both of you rise beyond theory into the solid realm of knowledge which demonstrates Religion to be a fact. Then may you be religious in fact and be able to see causes in your own ignorance which can be overcome, and the "struggle for existence" —which is not a theory —may be lessened by an intelligent manhood. Blind worship of a theory has led many a "leader" into the ditch of oblivion. The poor unfortunates who fell into the ditch with him have been left to struggle out as best they could. To these brotherhood-of-man theorists, let me say that there is a law of nature which reads that, equal coöperation is only possible where equality of mutual usefulness exists; disturb that law of mutual action and reaction by inequalities of ability sure to arise in the second generation as man is now bred, and coöperation forms itself like Christianity, "a theory," and dissolves of itself.

The Populist "leader" also acknowledges Mr. Bellamy as his master. Bellamyism is again, like the "Pop's" religion, "a theory," and must share the same fate. Our "leader" would earnestly deny that he was an anarchist, but if he truly represents the Populists, it is easy to at once prove that he and they are both anarchists; as much so as Johann Most. Verily these people know not what they think, or where their utterances lead to.

Said I not that the Christianity of the gospels is the open door to anarchy?

This is the same road that Professor Huxley's sign-board "Ethical Process" leads to.

This is where Bellamyism and all forms of Socialism and Communism lead to. At the end of the road is the pirates' den of inability. Decorated with the emblematic "Skull and Cross-bones" of inability we may read in letters of blood of millions slaughtered on the cross of ignorance, to which blind enthusiasts still point,

THE ROAD TO ANARCHY.

Let us travel the road a little farther that we may become still more acquainted with the dangerous facts which chasing a will-o'-the-wisp theory have placed as scales before man's eyes, shutting out the truth.

What then is Christianity if it is not the gospel of inability, misery, decrepitude, and everything which is destined to non-survival in the struggle for existence? No wonder Huxley decided he must give up evolution if he had to accept such an "ethical process" as that! No wonder that the discontent of the sharp, shrewd anarchistic agitator demands the robbery of the rich for the benefit of the poor. These men are the real and only Christians. It is the Church Christianity that really "denies its Lord" which the anarchists refuse to accept. Few, if any of them, have seen that the real "Lord Jesus" was their natural and spiritual leader! The anarchists again show much intelligent logic in being atheists.¹ Most Christians are not aware of the fact, but the logic is, that strong as the gospels speak of God the Father, the sentiments of Christianity are entirely opposed to "God's workings in the rest of nature." Anarchists endorse the teachings of Jesus and are decidedly opposed to "earning their bread by the sweat of their brows." The hardest labor they like to do is to "work

¹ As I was writing this a letter came from the freest-brained woman I know of, a woman above superstition, in which she says of another woman, who claims to be very "nodi cit."—"Mrs. _____ has just been here. She says 'that she cannot conceive of a love of nature without a God, and would not that any one should take that belief from her. At the same time she says, there is not a particle of comfort in such a belief, because she felt sure that God had nothing to do with her personal destiny.' As my correspondent says: "Behold the God of our days." Is not the Godly machinery involuting to eventual destruction?"

their jaws." The unthinking traditional worshipping Christian actually practices the cosmic principle that "self-preservation is the first law of life," and is hence, unchristian. The most devout of them will agree that "God only helps those who help themselves." Though in admitting that they affirm, unwittingly, the absolute impotence of their God and in reality endorse the cosmic law that, every man must be his own God and own Saviour, they still insist that the same Father made all the imbeciles, criminals, and non-self-supporting classes; and then sent "the Christ" to prepare the way of supporting them by robbing the rich; or, if they did not and will not consent to be robbed, then they are hit by the theological sand-bag and the doors of heaven and immortality are to be closed to their souls.

THE THEOLOGICAL SAND-BAG.

We have seen in previous quotations how ignorance affects the mind of those who have not the natural ability or the will to succeed in the struggles of life. It is now my purpose to show, what is well known, the effect of that same ignorance on the minds of those who have both the ability and the will and do succeed. For this purpose I quote a passage from the defunct "Standard" of Henry George, said to have been taken from Mr. Andrew Carnegie's "Gospel of Wealth," where he says:

"Surplus wealth should be considered a sacred trust to be administered by those into whose hands it falls, during their lives, for the good of the community. It predicts that the day is at hand when he who dies possessed of enormous sums which were his and free to administer during his life, will die disgraced, and holds that the aim of the millionaire should be to die poor."

Let it be distinctly understood now, as will be seen later, that I am not denouncing the so-called "charitable" acts of rich men. That is not the question we are discussing at present. Later on we will discuss charity in relation to the law of self-protection on earth. At present we are considering Christianity as a bonus for self-protection in heaven and the results of such an ignorant "theory." In reality, what does Mr. Carnegie say to inability and crime, etc., in the above words? Does he not as much as

say, "What I have made is not mine, it is God's; you are God's children; I hold it in trust, and if I do not die poor by giving it to you as God's agent then I am a naughty boy and God will punish me?"

Now what does the Anarchist, and the Socialist, essay to do? He is not in reality the obedient follower of his "theory," that he imagines himself. He is not willing to wait for the same Jesus, or other agent, to come down (from the stool of superstition) and stir the pool of gratitudinal obligation in the "God-Soul" of some Mr. Carnegie, so, he steps in and takes God's place. He says to ability, "Hold up your hands, I am he who should be a king from now on, and you are he who should have been a beggar all along." But ability objects! It says, "I am the custodian of a sacred trust, and when the spirit of God moves me I will fulfill my obligations and then we shall all 'die poor' and the equality of the kingdom of heaven will reign on earth." "That is all nice 'in theory,' says inability, but you are too long in deciding as to the time we shall enjoy this equality. Come now! Obey God. I am his special agent; your theory is all right, but natural law is better. Come now! divi up, or down goes your house! I want the equalization now; any and all times are God's time. Am I not as much his child as you? Why cannot I say when we shall divide and become equally brothers in God's inheritance as well as you?"

Such is the "theory" Christianity has filled the world with, and which blind ignorance leads men, otherwise intelligent, to accept, merely because their ancestors believed something their ancestors told them, the only foundation for which is a "theory."

EVERY MAN IS HIS OWN GOD AND HIS OWN SAVIOUR.

It is thus easy to be seen why anarchists and social communists are atheists, and why they have not called themselves Christians. They have mistaken Church Christianity for the genuine article, which is identical with their views, even as the Christians have accepted a theological tradition without even having a conception of the nature of the original gospel article. They have read with

their grandmothers' spectacles, and spoken with their ancestors' tongues while their brains have been sleeping in the vaults of dead superstition. The mass of the human race is mentally in a condition of spongiouse sleep. Like a sponge they absorb the lore around them, utterly regardless of the filth and useless material in it. Thinkers are very few! There is a story that once on a time a man in London, who had made a million out of some quack medicine, met, in a store on "the Strand," one of the most celebrated physicians of England, who was rather poor than well off. They fell to talking of success in life, and the physician asked the patent-medicine dealer "how it was he got so rich while he could make but little beyond his expenses?" The "quack" was a man of the world and shrewd. He said, "Doctor, come to the door and look out on the crowded street. Now," he said, "we have been here five minutes, how many people have passed by?" The doctor said, "Perhaps 1,000, perhaps 2,000?" "Well, doctor, how many of those are really intelligent thinking people?" "Perhaps one or two!" "Well, doctor, you get those; the balance are fools and come to me." That answers Bishop Kean's remark as to the infrequency of atheists and deists. It is the one or two in the thousand this book is written for. Neither anarchy, communism nor Christianity has any place for them. That the number is increasing rapidly is shown by the fact that an intelligent appreciation of the law of self-preservation justifies me in writing. Sophocles said: "Heaven never helps the man who will not act." Only the church, anarchists and communists find help for them in the robbery of natural ability. While there is a large percentage of ignorant faith in the church, there is also a very large number of men who make a business of preaching among the clergy; and a dangerous number who, like social agitators, preach because too lazy to do anything else.

THE CHURCH UPHOLDS INABILITY.

In an address on the "Relations of the Roman Church to the Poor," * Mr. Donnelly of the Massachusetts State Board of Lunacy and Charity said:

* "Boston Herald," Sept. 22, 1893.

"Yet, under the most favorable conditions of modern life, instanced by the state of our own country when compared with all other countries, it may be said that land is easily acquired and labor is well paid; still the masses of the people are poor, by which is meant are practically destitute of property, and without any income or source of living except by labor. It may be said fairly and truthfully that much more than one-half of our population, even with our favorable conditions here, live almost literally from hand to mouth, that is, are rarely more than a few weeks distant at any time from the necessity of applying for public aid, should health or work fail them. It is not intended to discuss here the causes of such conditions, no more than to theorize on the differences in the mental, moral or physical condition of men; but the fact confronts us, and we know, despite all reasoning about the unequal distribution of property, that some men have it in their power to accumulate it, to the exclusion of others, as they may have the strength physically to hold it, and to overcome other men who are born with less vigor and less ability, and so the latter continue dependent and subject to those stronger in mind and body than they are themselves.

"We have it from our Divine Master, who chose the state of poverty when he came on earth, that "the poor ye have always with you," a sentence in the nature of a prophecy, as it were, of the continuance of poverty among mankind, down to the remotest times. It is difficult to conceive the probability of a state of society existing by which, under any method of legislation, poverty may be abolished; any more than the necessity of laboring may be legislated away; but it is conceivable that enlightened and progressive legislation may assist in diminishing materially existing poverty everywhere, and lightening the labor of those especially who bear the heavier burdens of the very framework of society. Christ made the poor his chosen people; took his apostles from among them, and solemnly warns mankind against doing them injustice, in many passages of the sacred text, and his church has ever been the home of the poor and the desolate. There they have always found shelter, consolation and protection."

It is a melancholy fact that we do indeed have the poor always with us. But it is equally true that it is due to ignorance supported by the church and Christianity that no steps have been taken to put a stop to their existence and terribly dangerous increase. In this, if nothing else, the church is the mother of anarchy. Accepting the church's dictum, when it speaks through cosmic law rather than traditional trumpet, that "God only helps those who help themselves;" then, if he made those not having such ability, he left them to the same destiny cosmic law does—a miserable survival. It is no wonder men allow themselves to be plundered by the church and their own superstition that the Gates of Heaven (will not be) ajar, "unless they put up liberal margins on celestial

dividends, if they believe there is no help for inability, and that it is a divine prophecy" that we must keep on producing and cherishing this inability. The relation in which the clergy stands to natural ability is as

BROKERS OF CELESTIAL DIVIDENDS.

The ability of the world has to put up the margins, but only in cases where it has escaped from traditional superstition is it done with an intelligent appreciation that it is necessary as a self-protective policy. No one need take the writer for a "brutal savage," even if Huxley claims that that is all the ethics one can have who follows cosmic law. He who comprehends cosmic law, which Huxley evidently does not, knows that the law of self-protection, and the experiences which continually keep it before us, even more strongly than the "Golden Rule," with an abruptness unknown to Christianity, teach every intelligent man that misfortunes may come to the strongest, that sickness and old age come to all, and that it is self-protective to have a good record among men; and that seed sown in mitigating misfortune while not absolutely certain, is frequently followed by a similar crop in case of emergency. But is the case so hopeless? Did human intelligence stop in the Gospel-Jesus? Cannot an intelligent self-protective check be put on this evil? Can we not nip it in the bud instead of nurse it? These questions are discussed elsewhere and the remedies given. They are:

1. Unsexing all males and females who belong to the criminal and regular pauper classes that are of an age of sexual activity and yet can be made to live self-supporting lives.

2. Mercifully but peremptorily killing all criminals who persist in being a danger to society and all imbeciles and chronic lunatics.

3. Putting an end to all malformed children and manifest weaklings at birth.

4. Controlling marriage by the state so that all those physically and mentally unfitted to produce self-protective children, or those having suspicious descent cannot marry.

5. The penalty of breaking the law should be unsexing.

Instead of "lynching"—unsexing, by a skillful surgeon, is the treatment which should be applied to negro rapists in the South and their kind wherever they break loose in civilized countries.

CHRISTIANITY NOT A RELIGION.

If the definition herein given, that the word religion stands for a psychic fact, the recognition of cause in the cosmos, then Christianity is one of the least religious of all the so-called "religions," being the most limited. The purer it is, as in Romanism and Presbyterianism, the more its God is circumscribed in his paternal oversight; the more is the expansion and distribution of cosmic etiology limited, and the less religious is Christian theological communism. Undoubtedly the "rankest heresy and boldest infidelity" that has yet been "preached" to "fallen man" is in these pages; but every moment I think, the more am I convinced that Christian ignorance is the most demoralizing factor with which social science has to contend in its efforts to improve the condition of humanity. Leaving post-Christ theology entirely out of consideration, contrary to the views of many altruistic enthusiasts, Jesusism itself is degrading. It may be "rising," as claimed, but it has probably risen to the zenith of its ascension and is already on the road to fatal collapse. Taking the gospels as our only possible authority, it cannot be denied that Jesusism and anarchism are almost identical, in their relation to natural ability. Both would rob it for the benefit of inability. As said before, and I especially desire to repeat it, as Johann Most and the anarchists of to-day do not say that the capitalist must be exterminated as well as robbed for the benefit of inability, they show more wisdom than the founder of Christianity, as they not only leave to ability the hope of self-confidence, but freedom to again acquire wealth, and to inability the liberty (and hope too) of again robbing the ability of the land, if it can raise brute-force enough to overcome justice and common-sense. Jesus, on the other hand, levels down once for all. Not only must ability give all it has to the Christian commune, but it must join it and be equally

"poverty-struck" (not a word is said about "working on") with the rest of its members, or lose all hope of heaven and happiness in the future. Summed up, Most says to ability, "Deliver your riches peaceably or be robbed." Jesus said: "Deliver up your money and come and join with me and my followers or be damned." Practically, the law of self-protection induces me to "be damned" and hand over to Most if I must, and try again. There is but one period in men's existence when they are all equal, and that is when they cease to exist; when dead.

Christianity is a communal system, contrary to the laws of nature, which has crystallized around the hypothesis, "God the Father," and has gradually disintegrated into numerous subdivisions, or communes, on account of the inability of human intelligence, as it becomes free, to conform the levelling tendencies of Christianity, with the natural results of cosmic law.

Christianity is, again, man's apology to his own great ignorance for the evil conditions which exist in the world. Coward-like, he is unwilling to admit that he has the remedy in his own hands, and so places the blame on "a Theory" the incarnation of human ignorance and imbecility.

The penalties put on ability by Christianity for the benefit of inability are the "margins" which the reverential ignorance of otherwise able men "puts up" on the altars of traditional superstition.

Admitted, that the promises of Christianity to inability and "widows and orphans in affliction" have misled them into a confident feeling of "dependence on a higher power," still I say, that in leading people to believe it is "God's will" that they are poor, blind, decrepit, or forsaken, and that "He will help" who never helps and never did help, is the most demoralizing influence we have to deal with. No one who will be honest to himself can deny that "the revolt against capitalists," the war for the extermination of natural ability, finds its justification in the gospels and is the logical result of Christian communism. There can be no compromise between nature and superstitious ignorance. Cosmos says in unchangeable axiom, as Huxley admits, "that only those fitted with the natural ability, shall or can survive with comfort to themselves. Only

those having the natural ability to maintain life shall live." Advanced intelligence, Man-God, says: "I will equal the Cosmos; in the place of the miseries of the struggle for existence, and the injustice and robbery of Christian communal charity, I will put an intelligent control of the laws of heredity and seek only to produce those fit to fight their own battles from the day they arrive at maturity. Seeing them born right, I will see that they are educated to be 'champions' in the arena of life."

Christians may, with Huxley, call this "brutally savage." It certainly is not Christian. It is in accordance with that principle that "God helps" only "those who help themselves." This burden is getting too grievous to be borne longer. The intelligence of society has "only" this recourse. There is no other. It must take the "Law of God" into its own hands and be its own God and Saviour. It is according to the law of self-preservation that every intelligent citizen should think of this matter. The more he thinks, the more he realizes that we have now fifty per cent of our population which is scarcely individually self-protecting, in existing environments, and twenty-five per cent, of that socially dangerous, the sooner will he appreciate the fact that the method here advocated is the only way out of this really threatening difficulty. Life is not a sentiment; it is not a comedy; it's a hard-shelled fact, an earnest tragedy. We want no sickly sentiment in social affairs any more than in our business relations. Honesty to self is as good an individual, self-protecting policy as it is in our commercial relations. Honesty to self is the first law of an intelligent manhood. Intellectually speaking, it is a terribly rare attribute. Spencer says: "To the mass of people nothing is so costly as thought. Ninety-nine people out of a hundred accept the creed to which they were born." To which should be added, and the conditions in which they find themselves as matters of fate over which it is impossible for them to exert any control. That is not being intelligently honest to self. Why is the church so terribly afraid of honest self thought? Why does it desire and try to monopolize and control and even stifle the individual self-protectiveness of the

¹ "Ethics of Social Life," p. 343.

world? Why does it proclaim its God to be all-powerful, the Bible to be his invincible word ("The word of God cannot lie"), and yet it is afraid to leave him alone a moment and free from the theological nursing-bottle? The idea of God is only supported by the tottering crutches of a decrepit theology. Why does it fear, hate and vilify the memory of glorious old Tom Paine, who did more for the world than all its Deities, and whose greatest sin was that he spoke the truth so loudly, that the God its of the churches stands as a cowering imbecile before vivifying powers? Why does it fear science with its principle, turn to the book of nature, drop all human precedents, and think as if you were the whole world, and that its whole fate depended on you? The human race is now old enough to cast off its "swaddling-clothes" and free itself from the manger of the church, filled, with the musty husks and stale food of traditional superstition. The "spring of eternal life" is in the unbound revelations of the cosmos, and open as the light of sun to the inquiring intellect of a free-man. Only slaves, imbeciles lunatics and criminals find a comfortable resting-place in the vaults of the church, filled with the results of the robbery and oppression of natural ability from its earliest ages.

AN ALTRUISTIC EDITORIAL SAND-BAGGER.

The so-called "Fathers of American Liberty" in their wisdom saw fit to make "freedom of the press" one of the corner-stones on which the development of man in this country should stand. They were right! But, when and while the people of the United States give to press writers the most unlimited freedom to criticise their own deeds, perhaps the press once had dignity and manliness enough not to abuse its privilege, it cannot be questioned that it has generally lost its dignity and degenerated to "organs" to grind out the dirty washing of filthier politicians and to gratify the personal spite of microcephalic editors. It also panders to the most dangerous social vagaries, so long as there is "money in it." Has not the time come for an utterly free paper, which shall give

news as such, excluding filth, and discuss all social questions on the most advanced and ultra scientific basis? A "free lance" to hit error between the eyes, regardless of effect, no matter how or by whom it was presented. The press has become venal, cowardly, currish. Of course there are a few exceptions to this unfortunate condition. What must be the influence of Christian communal altruistic spectacles on the mind of one of the able editors of the Boston "Herald" to so blind him to truth and justice as to induce him to write the following editorial on the will of the late millionaire, Mr. F. L. Ames, in the issue of September 21, 1893? To make matters worse, and in a way so unmanly as to be unpardonable, the "Herald" printed the article on "the Gifts of Mr. Ames," two or three days later, without editorial comment or correction. It will be remembered that Mr. Ames died suddenly in the full vigor of manhood, on the Fall River boat, undoubtedly with no previous conception of any immediate danger.

"NO PUBLIC BEQUESTS."

GIFTS OF FRED L. AMES.

The shock that passed over the public mind on learning that Mr. Ames left no public bequests, when he was the richest man in New England, and when its institutions, intellectual and religious, had their weight in shaping his career and giving him influence and honor in the community, is not easily overcome. When one of the Astors dies, he makes a bagatelle of bequests which may be regarded as a sop to Cerberus, and goes on his way to the portal which St. Peter is supposed to guard, but here is a wealthy Unitarian, who has had the power to amass a fortune, and who has had to the fullest extent the satisfactions out of life that go with large fortunes, arranging finally his worldly affairs as if he had no more responsibility to the community than any laborer who helped to erect

SOME OF HIS GENEROUS CONTRIBUTIONS TO PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

The late Frederick L. Ames was a generous giver to public charities during his life. It was this very fact, perhaps, which caused surprise that in his will he made no public bequests.

As to that, however, although Mr. Ames left nothing in writing concerning any public bequests he had in conversation with members of his family expressed a determination to leave something to several charitable and educational institutions; but at the present time the executors are unable to state positively the institutions to be remembered, save that Harvard College will receive a generous donation. The amount the executors are now unable to state. Mr. Ames'

one of the stately structures which he built. Mr. Jay Gould died the other day and did the same thing. His son cares for the Gould property, as Mr. Ames' son will in time care for the Ames property, and these great estates will be kept intact.

No one will deny that there is a certain economic strength in the conservation of estates. The immense Vanderbilt property has been kept intact, but in the hands of those who control it, or much of it, has become a blessing to the community, and is being administered in such a way that the people at large, whose labor has been absorbed by it, are very much better for its existence. The late Leland Stanford was one of the wealthiest men in America, and by the death of his son he was compelled to dispose of his property in a way that would keep the estate together and hand it down intact for the benefit of future generations. The Leland Stanford, Jr., University is the wise outcome of his liberal plans, and it may result in making him the most liberal benefactor to public education which the world has yet known. He built upon the life of his son, but God taught him how to build for eternity through that son.

It is a cause of deep regret that one who had the ability and the energy of Mr. Ames, and who was greatly respected by those who came in contact with him, should show so little interest in the community that had helped him to become what he was as not to give it the least consideration when he took into account the final disposition of his great fortune. It may be said that he had the individual right to do as he pleased, but it is a right which in a moral sense has its limit-

death occurred so suddenly that he had not arranged this matter as he desired.

For the last dozen years Mr. Ames was a constant and liberal benefactor of Harvard, of whose corporation he was a sagacious and efficient member.

During that time he has given the university about \$100,000, largely to form new funds and increase old ones. He was also a continual giver for the university's immediate needs.

He gave \$25,000 to the Arnold Arboretum, \$10,000 toward the Harvard medical school building; \$1,000 a year for the last four years, toward a fund to raise the standard of medical education, \$10,000 toward building and furnishing an addition to the university museum for the botanical department, \$2,000 toward Professor Cooke's addition to the university museum, \$500 toward the new building for the library of the divinity school, \$5,000 for the botanic garden fund, \$500 in yearly instalments of \$100 for five years for the current expenses of the observatory, \$10,000 for the endowment of the physical laboratory, \$5,000 toward a fund to increase the salary of the president of Harvard (which, by the way, is now \$8,000 a year and house), \$1,600 for a new greenhouse at the botanic garden, \$4,850 with H. H. Hune- well toward equipment of a botanical laboratory. \$100 for a library for the classical department, \$500 a year the past three years for present use of the herbarium, \$1,000 toward a fund to be called the Joseph Lovering fund for physical research, in recognition of Prof. Lovering's lifelong devotion to physical science, the income to be spent for promotion of original research

ations, because he could never have amassed the great estate with which his name is identified if he had not gathered into his hands by such means as the common transactions of life allow in using the results of the labor and energy and influence of others so as to swell almost beyond precedent his own personal gains. The law by which such a process is carried on suggests also the higher law of distribution, and it is implied in the general expectation of the community that some recognition of this higher law will be made. It is in this light that we make these comments. The public has learned to expect from its millionaires something more than the purely personal ends for which money may be used, and it is a notable mark of our civilization that private individuals, who have it in their power to do munificent things are constantly meeting the public necessity in the various lines of human brotherhood by benefactions, through which they leave the world better than they found it. It is a matter of profound regret that Mr. Ames did no such thing.

at the Jefferson physical laboratory.

His latest gift to the university was \$5,000 to the dental school.

One hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars given to one institution in one man's lifetime, and while still engaged in the vicissitudes of business, would seem to be beneficence enough to protect him from being thoughtlessly held up to ridicule, censure, and hatred by any self-respecting man, be he an editor, or what not? Such maudlin imbecilic sentiment cannot be condemned too strongly. I would not have the editor of the "Herald" take my remarks too personally, for I do not believe he realized the import of his words, and yet he has given us as magnificent a specimen of Christian communism and anarchistic confiscation of the rewards of natural ability as either the Gospels contain.

STATE COMMUNISM.

ANARCHISTIC ROBBERY.

(EDITOR BOSTON HERALD.)

(EDITOR DER FREIHEIT.)

A SUCCESSION TAX.

"A will of the importance of that which was probated in Taunton yesterday cannot be passed by without comment. We wish that our duty had been made more agreeable by an instrument of different character. The fact that the richest man in New England should leave on his death a fortune of something like \$30,000,000, and not bequeath so much as one dollar for any public benefaction whatever, constitutes the strongest kind of an argument in favor of the direct succession tax of which the 'Herald' has been an earnest advocate. The next General Court will perform a public service if it enacts a law to this end."

"I will go to Chicago advocating the seizure of the wealth of the capitalists and its division among the penniless."

Will any one tell me what is the difference between these two editors, except that he of the "Herald" would have the state turn anarchist and rob the capitalist when dead, and give him no chance to "do what he wills with his own," while the editor of the "Freiheit," as noted before, though he would rob him, still gives him some chance for his life and to recuperate his fortunes. Not long since the "Herald" had some remarks against the dangerous tendencies towards state socialism in England. One has a right to ask if it is not advocating the very rankest kind of state socialism in urging this "succession tax"? The "Herald" would certainly advocate that Most, and his kind, have pleasant quarters at "Hotel Blackwell." A few months' serene confinement, "on the Island" for winter rumination, might have an invigorating effect on the mind of its own editor. There is enough social dynamite in one such editorial as that in the "Herald" to load the guns of the "Freiheit," "Arbeiter Zeitung," and other socialistic papers for a whole year, and it will do far more baneful execution among the wage-earners in the present unfortunate financial condition. As the communism of the gospels holds that natural ability, which is self-supporting and

acquires riches, up to the ridicule of meek and lowly inability, so the "Herald" incites the dangerous communistic and socialistic tendencies of the present to direful explosion by taking the ground that it is the duty of the state to take a certain amount of their inheritance from heirs. For one, I was particularly delighted when Mr. Gould defied public opinion and was consistent in his death, looking out for his own and them only. I was equally glad when I read the remarks in the "Herald" that Mr. Ames had done the same thing. If it is a law of life that "every man must cut his own furrow and that he who does not shall not gather any harvest," so it must be of society. Let the state adopt and practice the motto "a thing worth having is worth paying for." Above all things, these private endowed institutions are dangerous to the self-protectiveness of the very society they profess to be so anxious to serve. Every observant citizen knows of numerous cases where the officers of these "private snaps" have worked on the vanity of husbands and fathers so that, Christians though they claim to be, James' command to consider "the widows and fatherless in their affliction" would have been entirely neglected had not society, through the Probate Court, protected them. The most detestable "wolf in sheep's clothing" is generally the president of an endowed institution.

They, with the clergy, form that band of socialistic brokers who deal in

MARGINS ON POST-MORTAL DIVIDENDS;

or how, natural ability is robbed for the benefit of inability and the support of a small army of socialistic parasites by playing on its ignorant reverence for traditional superstition. Where would any man go in business, where do such go, who blindly follow in the ways their fathers trod? To bankruptcy! Where would the woman go who cut her clothes as her grandmother did? To the fashionable limbos. We should say "that such people had not the ability to succeed." That is plain, square, common sense. Yet, when we ask the business man why he does not apply it to so-called "religions," down drops all his manhood. He says, "what was good enough for father and

mother is good enough for me." For his want of manliness "he pays the piper," and allows himself to be robbed, and aids and abets inability, and encourages the very serpent which he most dreads, the uprising of inability and the robbery of ability by the masses led on by the Christian clergy and an inefficient or venal press.

Strange to say, these mistaken people have the philosophers on their side. So long has this evil continued that it has blinded the most intelligent men so that they cannot read the book of the cosmos as "she is writ."

To repeat :

Professor Royce tells us that "the first moral motive is to live for the general good." Huxley says : "Laws and precepts are directed to reminding the individual of his duty to the community," etc.

And, even Spencer,¹ who puts self-sustenance first says : "One who does not pick up his opinions ready-made, but who elaborates them for himself, will see closely enough that along with other duties to his fellow-men, there goes the duty of seeking to increase their happiness by rationalizing their modes of life."

THE INDIVIDUAL OWES NOTHING TO SOCIETY.

To many that assertion must appear like the rankest heresy, nevertheless it is true, and Huxley admits it to be in full accord with cosmic law. What is more, it is in full accord with the principles of Christianity and Jesusism, in any form in which it is comprehensible as such to me, if we apply them to man's happiness on earth. Do not the gospels teach, is not Jesus reported as making it a condition to eternal life, that the rich should sell what they have and give to the poor? Is not that post-mortal (so far as we know anything) self-protection? Is not that the heavenly cudgel which the priestly brokers hold over the heads of natural ability to make it support them in the first place, and the inability of the world in the second? As previously noted Spencer, looks on justice as an altruistic result, an opinion in which I cannot coincide, as I look on altruism as doing for others regardless of self. Spencer next speaks of altruism as manifesting itself in

¹ Loc. Cit., "Ethics of Social Life."

the favor of negative and positive beneficence. He defines "altruistic" actions, as including all those which either negatively, by self-restraint, or positively, by efforts for their benefit, conduce to the welfare of fellow-men.

On the negative basis, then, if, in self-protection I kill a man who is trying to rob me, and he is an abuser of his family and dangerous to society, I have conduced to the welfare of my fellow-men even without restraint, yet on the basis that all acts which conduce to the benefit of the general public are altruistic, such a justified murder, and hanging or electrocution or any form of capital punishment, are equally altruistic? On this basis even altruism favors the plan here proposed for doing gradually away with the most dangerous form of social inability; a point which, so far as what little I have read indicates, is left totally unanswered by Spencer.

Altruism, so called, is manifested in three different forms which we will consider in due order:

1. Hereditary or emotional altruists. Of these Mr. Spencer says: "Beyond question there are many who are constrained by their nature to devote their energies to philanthropic ends and to do this without any regard to personal benefit."¹ In other words, altruism and other humanizing influences, supported by Christian precept and example have so influenced the cosmos, as manifested in some individuals, as to have entirely stifled all self-protectiveness, and given them an intellect which finds its natural and greatest happiness when devoted to the welfare of others. That is Huxley's "best." The unnatural extra cosmic "ethical process" has worked so long and so thoroughly as to produce an individual absolutely unable to look out for itself. Well can he say, "heaven is my home." The earth is not! He is devoid of the trading instinct, has no idea of the value of money save to spend it in aiding others, or the value of life save to squander it in the service of humanity. The reader may be astonished to learn that the writer was bred and born and educated in that way, and that after twenty-five years of the most devoted service to humanity at every sacrifice and following Christ, though not a Christian,

¹ Loc. Cit., "Ethics of Social Life," 295.

also in begging every cent he could from wealthy relatives to spend on the same cause, he is ready and willing to admit that his whole life has been a failure, except in that he has finally discovered why he failed and why a portion of humanity finds so much strength in Christianity. He has learned the value of the law of self-protection. He was born and educated as a lie against nature; an insult to natural intelligence.

He did not know that his own ignorance was so great that he could not appreciate that the boastful American public had not intelligence enough to even desire to take care of itself. In politics it leaves it to Ignorance. In religion to Theory. Having become bankrupt in health and pocket, though rich in reputation, he has discovered that the cause of his failure is to be sought in the fact that humanity, in the United States, has not intelligence enough to appreciate the Law of Self-Protection when it pertains to the investigation of infectious diseases and saving life. It can pay millions of tribute to a traditional superstition "to save its soul," but not one dollar to save itself from the miseries of disease by seeking their causes and means of prevention. Scientists of this kind are entirely out of place in America. Unless men are scientific frauds, or so extremely self-protective as to be willing to sell their manhood for a mess of pottage and accept positions under theological guidance, there is no place for them. No true scientist can be either a deist or a Christian. It is a sheer impossibility. There is another class of hereditary altruists who at the same time are hereditary cerebral infiltrating sponges of their ancestors' creeds that are of use to humanity in its worship of traditional superstition. They are the brokers of celestial dividends. Neither of these two classes of men have self-protectiveness enough to take care of themselves. Those who should be useful to man living, to saving life as scientists, are really useless to him in this country and Great Britain, where those who are useful as soul-dividend brokers find ample remuneration.

2. Hypocritical altruists; or those who "do good to be seen of men" as an aid to business and an increase to their self-protectiveness. As Christians they are either Romanists or Orthodox; seldom Liberals, and as men are

over-self-protective and generally sneakingly dishonest and enemies to the general self-protectiveness of society.

3. Post-mortal dividendal altruists; or those who give to the church, or to humanity, to have their "accounts balanced at the judgment day" or such as give to the community in order that their name may not be forgotten among men.

4. There is a fourth variety which is entirely different, to which the writer has belonged during the last few years of his life, until society itself cured him of his disease by its neglect of itself. This variety are all scientists and all materialists. They have a perfect horror of dying like the common herd, and never being heard of afterwards. They have a profound contempt for post-mortal individuals purchased with money, but they have ambition to serve their race. They know how like riches the name of the Cræsus of the world fleeth before the march of time. But they know also that ideas which have become self-protective live and bear fruit so long as man shall advance. So they work to enroll their name on the wreath of the immortals. They are the true "nobility" of the earth. The apparent "acme of human evolution." Yet, there is something higher. I believe that any other form of altruism is impossible, and still I declare that as all those forms are for self-gratification, or self-protection, in one form or another, that none are altruistic and that altruism is a "theory," an impossibility, and contrary to cosmic laws. With the "Preacher" of old, I am ready to declare that every and any form of altruism is but "vanity and vexation of spirit; all, all is vanity." "All is vanity," because it does not and cannot produce the desired result, "Peace on earth and good will among men."

Every one who fails in serving the state does so because false to himself. He who serves the state better than he does himself will surely become a burden on the state, or some one else. "Honesty is the best policy." It is the best home-medicine an atavistic altruist can apply.

Nothing can bring that about, but an intelligent application of the law of self-protection, by each individual to himself and by society to itself as an individual. A

perfected machine running in accordance with the perfection of that sublime law which leadeth unto a life on earth and knows no more.

We have, then, three social suggestions for regulating ability down to the level of inability in order to protect the latter at the expense of the former.

1. Christian communistic; or "hold up your hands" and open them to the poor, or your soul will be everlastingly damned, and your accounts in heaven will be all debit.

2. Anarchistic; or "hold up your hands," and deliver what you have and then you may work again.

3. State socialistic or the "Succession Tax," after you are dead, by which the state will rob your grave whether you will or not, if you have had the misfortune to make more money than its profound impudence thinks your heirs have any right to.

Of these three forms of the robbery of ability this

STATE ROBBERY OF THE DEAD,

suggested by the socialistic editor of the Boston "Herald" seems to be the most preposterous and atrociously villainous, for both the Anarchistic and Christian robber "springs his rattle" while ability is living and has some opportunity to defend itself or compromise matters. But this State Succession Tax highwayman permits the man to die before he makes any suggestion of robbery. The miscreant has, however, given notice, and ability has now a chance to protect itself while living and do as it pleases with the results of its labors, unless voted down and robbed by massed inability, supported by ignorance and political demagogism. It is the fashion in politics now to buy the votes of inability by passing bills taxing natural ability. What justice is there in a State Succession Tax? What has the state ever done for any one that either he or his ancestors has not paid all demanded in taxes? What is the state? What is it composed of?

The state is the sum of the people united as one individual for the self-protection of the whole.

The present tendency is towards a state-christian-communism, otherwise known as state-socialism, in which

the ruling power shall be the inability and irresponsible classes, whose chief study shall be how they can tax and live on the self-supporting ability of the state without stifling it so far as to "kill the geese" who are laying up the golden eggs. A "Succession Tax" is a move in this direction.

The same cosmic law, the same scientific methods by which the individual wins success must be employed by the state to be a successful heterogenetic and complex individual. It only requires intelligence to rule instead of demagogism to do this. The state can no more succeed than the individual can on altruistic, Christian, or communistic principles. As with the individual, God has nothing to do with it. It must succeed by its own help and can get no other. It cannot succeed by robbery, or suppression, or by any injustice towards its ability in favor of its disability. The intelligence of the state must protect the former individually at any cost and do its utmost to intelligently suppress and rid itself of the latter.

What kind of individuals go to make up the state?

1. Those having such a superabundance of natural self-protective ability as to be able to master all the nature they need and to supply work to a large amount of human nature for their own benefit. This class is in a great minority and makes the millionaires, now held up to general ridicule and impoverishment, if not destruction. Really one would think self-protective ability was some malignant pest from the way it is maligned by Church and Press, and unthinking or selfishly criminal people at the present time.

2. Those who are self-protective because they are of such stable character as to be of use either to the first class, or to society in some of the many occupations of life. Under existing conditions, they need the great financial generals to make work for them. At present this is the largest class on the good sense and appreciative self-protectiveness of whom the welfare of the state depends. They are the "balance of power" in the community, state, nation, or world. Stampede a sufficient number of this class, and let it join the third, and the self-protective social equilibrium is in a state of danger-

ous revolution and perhaps disruption. They are the backbone of the state. They should not, however, guide it. They should support the very best self-protective intelligence of the state, which should be the guiding power. The trouble has been, that it has never assumed its proper place. The declaration of independence and constitution of this government outdo the Nazarene and places the equality of the grave in the living, and make every man equal to every political emergency on earth against cosmic law and common sense.

3. The non-self-protective class. Lazy people, who will not work; criminals who can work, but in ways opposed to the welfare of society; imbeciles and lunatics.

The work of social science is to keep the extra self-protective class up to its highest level, and to level up the second or self-protective class and entirely root out the non-protective class. Ever since Christianity put its curse on riches there has been an augmenting tendency to crush out the natural ability of the world. The theory of the "land-nationalizationists," is all wrong in every way. Among other things they assume that land monopoly alone makes men rich. It is not so of itself. That man is surest of becoming a millionaire who can control and supply the most of the necessities of the human race. A "self-made" man's millions is a sign of his value to his race. If a certain portion of the race did not retain that remnant of savagery by which primitive individuals wore totems to distinguish themselves, one man might own the diamond mines of the world, and if that was all he had he would starve to death. It is this hyper-self-protective class; that is, those with a tremendous or over-average amount of natural ability, whose genius supplies the work by which the others live and are enabled to protect themselves. It is freely admitted that multi-millionaires are not an agreeable reminder to the rest of us of our own inferior ability. There are brainy multi-millionaires in science; in the fashionable clergy; and among artists and artisans. In comparison to the ordinary "scrub" scientists, a Pasteur, a Virchow, a Helmholtz, a Darwin, a Pettenkofer, or a Spencer is a multi-millionaire in ability. Even science, is not free from its anarchists or communists who try to rob ability of its laurels; or who would

make all men equal if they could. I am a firm believer in the cosmic law "first come first served," or that he who has the ability to attain and maintain should be upheld in his maintenance, unless attained and maintained in ways unjustly ruinous to the self-protectiveness of society. One of the chief causes of our present multi-millionaires is that the "fathers" of this country did not have fore-self-protectiveness enough to lay claim to all they did not individually want and hold it in the name of the country, and sell or lease it out and conduct the government with it and build the necessary general means of transport with the results. Had they been so overwise and founded the results to live on, there would not now be any necessity of "infernal" taxes, and robber-tariffs, or robbing the ability of the country either "dead or alive." There would be income enough and to spare for the general government expenses and all local governments. As said elsewhere, it is the men of extra-ability who supply the means by which those of lesser ability are enabled to be self-supporting. Shall we then over-tax ability, by a "succession tax" merely to squander it on inability? Why not apply the knife to the "root of the tree" of social inequality? All through life ability pays the taxes demanded of it for its self-protection. If the assessments are not sufficient let them be increased, but let us not "strike a man when down." While undivided, their estates pay the taxes demanded, and when divided not only do they pay the same, but often a greater amount, and the sum spent annually by heirs is generally far greater than that ever spent by the testator. The money made by ability is continued in its self-protecting mission in society the more it is dispersed among self-supporting wage-earners. The amount possible to be taken by a succession tax can never have any such extended public self-protectiveness. The succession tax would "kill the goose." There is only one reform that is seriously to be recommended as to millionaires. That despicable nonsense that unless a man is actively at work in the competition of life he is a disgrace to society should be done away with, and it should be a disgrace for a man inheriting \$100,000 or over, to go into any of the monetary competitions of business. Such men should be encouraged to devote their lives to science in all its

branches, and to social science in particular, and those engaged in active life should have to trust the general protectiveness to men thus specially fitted for it. There should be no public position of honor. As in every-day business life, he who enters the public service is "worthy of his hire" and it should be in accordance with the service and higher in degree than any like service in competitive business. The more and longer a millionaire extends his fortune over his heirs, the more it becomes divided up, the more does he contribute, post-mortally, to the self-protectiveness of society. In another place I have spoken of the fears of millionaires that they may die poor. I do not feel sure, but have the suspicion, that the reason many of them do not retire before they "kill themselves by over-work" is because of the insecurity of the very securities they have made on account of the constant competitive struggle for existence between them and the infernal demoralization frequently produced by those dealers in "wind," who should have their ventilators shut,—stock-gamblers. When the community learns to attend to its own business intelligently, and purchases and conducts the great commercial business of the country (common carriers) it may offer a sufficient quantity of reliable securities to enable a millionaire to retire safely from life's competition, and not force him to endanger his personal safety by endeavoring to multiply his possessions. There is room for some hard thinking on these questions. One thing is sure! Society cannot afford to take up the popular cry "down with ability." If it ever does, the "Goddess of Liberty" and Prosperity will depart from this country. The motto of the Fathers was, if not expressed so in words, to build up and develop; to give ability all the opportunity possible. It may be that ability has exceeded, or is in danger of exceeding an intelligent use of its self-protectiveness and encroached on that of society. If it has, it will soon learn to check its aggressiveness. If it does not, the second class, the backbone of social protectiveness, have the votes and the power. Let them do the checking, but intelligently remembering that to stifle the excess of ability in the state is to trifle with their own self-preservation. Intelligence and not superstition; common sense and not demagogism; ability and not in-

ability ; honesty and not rascality ; diligence and not laziness, can lead only to success in the state as well as in the individual. Such is cosmic law.

THE COMMUNITY OWES NOTHING TO THE INDIVIDUAL.

When one looks at the state intelligently and with a mind free from sentimental nonsense, it is evident that it is but a heterogeneous and complex individual. An individual which, if true to itself and to cosmic law, has only to attend to its self-protection as does every individual unit of which it is composed. It builds schools and colleges, organizes fire and police-departments, etc., to protect itself as a unit, and each individual autonomy pays its assessed share of the expense to insure its own self-protection as a part of the whole communal machinery. There is no duty to the other in either case. It is but the intelligent application of the law of self-protection to itself by single and composite units. It is communal life conducted as a purely business venture. When comprehended properly this intelligent subjugation of man to the cosmic law, both as an individual and communally, will lead to the best possible social condition. This beatitudinal condition of mutual equilibrium has been prevented its due recognition more by the "God's will" traditional superstition of Christianity than any other factor which man, in his ignorance, has generated and hugged to himself as some sacred fetich. Its days are numbered! When Christianity commenced to disintegrate in the apologies of the Doctors for the insufficiency of their sublime ignorance, and Jesus, as a man, began to rise, the whole illusion began its fatal descent to disruption.

The individual owes no more to the state than the state does to the individual. Wherever and whenever the state or a community have raised a monument to some individual's memory whose life has proved a local or general benefit it has left off the most important words. On the most prominent face should be "Dedicated to our own Ignorance of the Law of Self-preservation by which we allowed—to work his life out without adequate remuneration or recognition." The state can honor no man. The man honors himself. Honors to dead men

are insults to self. Every man worthy of real honor has built his own monument. How puerile the attempts of man would be to build a monument immortalizing the name of Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galileo, Copernicus, Socrates, Plato, Marcus Aurelius, Linnæus, Vesalius, Harvey, Brown, Darwin, Jenner, Virchow, Koch, and in this country Thomas Paine and Benjamin Franklin: or among inventors Stephenson, Fulton, Whitney, Morse, and many others. It is singular that the two most important lives connected, with the American Revolution and foundation of this government, Paine and Franklin, find less respect among the people than any of the others. That they were head and shoulders in intellectual power and freedom, not only above their contemporaries, but any men of their time, and equal to the mightiest of all time, is well enough known. What, then, is the matter? Simply those two men were the enemies of ignorance and traditional superstition, and the clergy as the special representatives of these twin monsters, have been more or less successful in "damning" to forgetfulness the two brightest lights of the early history of this country. As shown previously, every altruistic motive is for self, either for self-protective post-mortal vanity, to be seen of men, or for a high position in the "throne of eternal grace," one or both: or because one is so built that he but follows his natural inclinations. There is no such thing as duty when the law of self-protection is understood as the moral agent. Following the necessities of cosmic law cannot be called a duty even if done at the instigation of self-protective vanity or in reverence for traditional superstition. Most acts of post-mortal beneficence are tributes to the fear that the donor will either be forgotten on earth or in heaven. Instead of donations being given to the state as they should be, they are either given to a special institution bearing the donor's name, or to some circumscribed creedal concern, which will be sure to keep its benefactor's reputation green.

The "Herald" calls attention to the "Leland Stanford Jr. University." Who and what was Leland Stanford Jr? A mere boy, precious to his parents, no doubt, but valueless to the world so far as known. Had Senator Stanford given his millions to the University of California, which is free and of and for the people, he would have

shown some recognition of the fact that he too was of and for the people. Go where you will a weaker and more limited monument to human vanity cannot be found than this Stanford University, and the Rockefeller monstrosity in Chicago which are tributes to superstition, and will not prove of any more general benefit. Harvard no more belongs to the people of Massachusetts than the National Catholic University in Washington does to the United States. What is needed is, that the people become a man in the best self-protective sense. Then they will attend to the education of the youth of the country, and privately endowed institutions will be wiped out, and those who have more money than they think their posterity needs will donate it to the people, and sink their vanity in the extension of general protectiveness.

As an illustration of the sentimental and unmeaning gush which can be expressed in relation to the obligations of a community to an individual we have the following in relation to the late Mr. Ames of Massachusetts.

“FLAGS AT HALF-MAST”

“Omaha, Nebraska, September, 13, 1893. Mr. Ames has always been Omaha's friend, and has a million dollars' worth of property here. The flag on the Union Pacific headquarters was at half-mast this afternoon.”

What did Mr. Ames ever do for Omaha that he deserves any such commendation? That he endeavored to do all he could for Mr. Ames is told in the dispatch where it says he had “a million dollars' worth of property” there. Mr. Ames paid his taxes like any poor cottager, and a thousand cottagers with a million dollars invested in Omaha or any city may do more for the city in bringing the millionaire and his money than aught else, and yet no one passes “the hat” of gratitude on their death. It is the character of the mass which makes the millionaire possible, not he the mass, though he makes his millions by using it and being useful to it. Socialistic and journalistic writers must learn that it is not by the use of the masses alone, that supreme ability makes its millions. On the contrary, it is true that ability makes itself actually worth all it gets.

That the flags of the Union Pacific Headquarters were

not at half-mast because one of the chief owners was dead would have been as surprising and wanting in respect as that his own family neglected to adorn the front door-bell with crape.

So much for the obligation of sentimental gush. He who is true to himself in a thoroughly intelligent manner will be true to the community. That is nothing new, though it would seem too generally unknown. The community which is true to itself must be true to its members. The most essential lesson before humanity is to learn to know the truth and not to be afraid of it after it has found it. Then has man become rich and famed and possessed himself of "the only pearl of price" necessary to success.

HEREDITY AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITY.

Using the word conscience in the sense of a consciousness or knowledge of right or wrong, or what is individually best, or in the cosmic sense most liable to be self-protective, an interesting and important question immediately forces itself on our consideration. What is the basis of this knowledge? Must we, with Huxley, assume that "social progress means a checking of the cosmic process at every step and the substitution for it of another, which may be called the ethical process?"

A still more recent writer challenges the cosmos in the same way when he says: "Moral traits are not inherited, except in so far as they are directly traceable to physical conditions."¹

Though I am perfectly aware that I shall be earnestly charged with gross immorality by a vast number of sincere people, the truth which is in me, the cosmos as I read its book of Revelations (though not as I was brought up to read it), peremptorily commands me (my conscience) to insist that Mr. Huxley at least be equally honest to himself and "come off the perch" of agnosticism. The time has come when men of scientific reputation cannot afford to assume any such uncertainty as "it may be or it may not be." It must be! We are now, owing to

¹ Dr. Round. *Criminals not the victims of heredity.*—"Forum," September, 1893.

Huxley's assertion, placed where we must decide and put ourselves unequivocally on record. God as God, all-pervading, ruling, guiding Intelligence, or not? For myself, I am as positive as language will allow me to express myself. Emphatically I affirm, not my belief, but my certain knowledge. There is no God. There is no supreme all-ruling Intelligence. Mr. Huxley is right. The cosmic process emphatically contradicts it. Evolution and God are incompatibles, as chemists say. If Mr. Huxley actually means what he says, and for one I must credit him with profound sincerity, when he asserts that, "the influence of the cosmic process on the evolution of society is the greater the more rudimentary its civilization," then I must be admitted to be correct in my assertion that, while Mr. Huxley has added much to, and probably fully comprehended the morphology of evolution, he has as fully failed in comprehending the law of evolution itself. All the proof necessary to the full conviction of Mr. Huxley is to be found in the above passage quoted from him. If the law of evolution is, as I have previously stated it, "a development from simple to complex activity with a like development from a homogeneous to a heterogenetic morphology, action and reaction being equal, then the evolution of society" is not, has not been, and cannot be, "the greater the more rudimentary its civilization."

The active principle of evolution, the cosmic struggle for existence would, under Huxley's condition, have to have been and be the most severe the simpler the cosmic condition of life, vegetable, animal and human. Evolution becomes impossible. There could have been and can be no involution. Keeping to the human side of the argument, any one who can observe at all can see and knows that, given enough of material nature, the natural fruits, animals and water, Crusoe on his island had, in fact, no struggle for existence, so long as he remained physically well, and the advent of Friday did little, if anything, to augment the struggle. But, when the savages visited the island, then the struggle began with the numerical increase of society. The multiplication of man and his accumulation in localities, gives the really active agent in the struggle for human existence, and is the cause of an

ever-increasing development of the moral intelligence to modify the struggle in accordance with the law of self-protection. As Huxley contradicts himself, when he admits that "men in nature (morphological men) are undoubtedly subject to the cosmic process," for, "as among animals, their multiplication goes on without cessation;" so Dr. Round gives up his whole position when he says that the "moral traits are not inherited, except in so far as they are directly traceable to physical conditions?" If any portion of the "moral traits" have a physical material, or morphological foundation, the whole must have? The cosmos never works fractionally. Although probably unaware of it, Dr. Round, practically denies that the intelligence is the seat of origin of a certain portion of the moral traits. Such monstrosities must then be without any cerebral protective apparatus. They are even worse than imbeciles. They can have no brains whatever. Nothing but a motor, cervical, ganglion. Certainly the law of involution has most miraculous powers. Such people must correspond to Huxley's "ethical best." They must be so plastic as to be entirely without reaction to environment for which Dr. Round, justly claims so much.

Let us hear him further: ¹ "The resistance to temptation is truly not so great in a man physically weak as it should be when his physical weakness results from vices in a previous generation, the conditions likely to promote criminality may be inherited. But vices themselves, solely as a result of moral impulse, I do not believe to be inherited. Nor do I believe virtue to be inherited. * * * Physical conditions likely to promote criminality aside, I believe that the thief's child, apart from his environment and possible training starts well nigh as fairly in the race of life as the child of the average citizen. It is environment and training, not heredity, that give the most favorable condition to the development of the criminal impulses."

He also says: ² "There is a pretty general and settled conviction, among scientific criminologists, that moral qualities, purely and simply as moral qualities, either for good or evil are not transmitted."

The correct answer to this assertion depends entirely

¹ Loc cit.

² Loc cit.

on the fact as to how and where we place the origin of the moral qualities? Are they due to an extra cosmic (human) "ethical process" as Huxley claims, or have they all a "physical foundation" as Round admits for some? Unless they will admit the God, special inspiration source for all the moral traits, such writers must acquiesce in the materialistic-scientific assertion that all action pre-supposes that something acts, and that that something is of a material nature. An acting "Spirit" is an incomprehensible factor to any sane and educated brain. No man is foolish enough to assert that the child of civilized and intelligent parents, commences to steal the moment it is born: but every well-read man knows that there are nations where every child steals as soon as it can. The fiat commands, "thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not fornicate" (I change the word purposely, meaning to indulge the sexual.....) "thou shalt not steal," are all but social regulators of natural individualism which under certain primeval conditions are but the carrying out of the law of natural self-protectiveness, the result of more highly evolutionized, heterogenetic social conditions, and the development of an intelligently moral self-protectiveness on the part of the people in communal assembly. When such "vices" appear as "born in" individuals in our present semi-civilized social conditions, are they not an example of atavism to simple natural individualism? Are they not socially involutionary? In the simplest and most homogeneous cosmic conditions (human), take a small tribe or family of negroes for example, they all look and act so much alike that authentic students of ethnology tell us, they have even adopted individual "totems" in order to distinguish themselves,¹ in other words, to differentiate their lack of individuality from one another. How seldom do we find such conditions existing in our heterogeneous society. Near me are living two little twins, both the same sex, same height and of nearly the same weight. But one has dark hair and the other light; one has a sweet disposition, the other is peevish, and still both are apparently in equally robust health. Shall we assume that the peevish condition of the one is "traceable to physical conditions," and that the "moral" condition of the

¹ "Lippert Naturgeschichte der Neuschheit."

other is due to an "ethical process" having an entirely different origin; or, to speak with theology, that "God cursed the one and blessed the other." For myself, I deny the possession of any such blasphemous infidelity to cosmic law.

If moral qualities for good or for evil are not transmitted, I positively assert that the physical foundation, the undistinguishable (at present) cerebral arrangement is, even as much as a weak or strong foundation is or may be in regard to other organs of the human anatomy, and that the action must correspond thereto. I cheerfully admit that the appearance, or individual manifestation, of the weakness may not occur until brought in contact with a favorable environment. The paradigmatic "minister's son" generally or often does not demonstrate his proverbial "wildness" while in the environment of the paternal roof and influences, but I do deny that the foundation has not been transmitted in the act of parental fecundation. Man himself is an object of hereditary transmission, even as every part of him, on the cosmic law that "like begets like;" otherwise, he might as well be born an ass. We sometimes assert that even that form of atavism occurs. Pathologists know that organic weaknesses do become strengthened by unintelligent sexual selection and that they do lead to vicious action either to the individual or community. But physiologically, there is no such equilibrium or constancy in the transmission of organic structure, with like equilibrium in action among our heterogeneous population as in the homogeneous people of simple natural conditions, any more than there is in gross morphological appearances. Then, again, the intellectual faculties, (the morals) of such homogeneous people are equally so. They all act approximately alike. A moral social equilibrium exists which does not appear in heterogenetic communities, because they all look on the principle of self-protection from a homogeneous point of view. Writers, like Dr. Round, do not seem to realize that, with very few exceptions, it is impossible to speak of heredity in a heterogeneous society as they can in a more homogeneous, or in any line direction. Marriage is not a matter of scientific, nor is it one of natural selection in the individualistic self-protective sense. It is simply one of

instinctive selection in the self-indulgence sense. There is an almost natural impossibility in heterogeneous society for ancestral potencies to continue in any potent direction in offspring though general characteristics of a class, like the strong assertive individualism of the Puritans, and the over-self-protectiveness of the Jews may become strongly hereditary. On the other hand, when it really comes to that plus or minus of natural individualism, which tends to immorality, or crime, even to the degree of moral or self-protective irresponsibility in imbeciles, is it not hereditary, in the sense of generation continuance even though only individually and seldom if ever family potent on both sides? Do we not know that tendencies to insanity, to cancer, and other idiosyncracies have become variedly transmissible in people. One can scarcely say families, for even royal marriage scarcely ever comes to that in the closest line, and never continuously. When Mr. Round admits that weaknesses, "tendencies," can be transmitted, he means weakness in structural foundation, and that is all intelligent biologists claim. No colt was ever actually born with a spavin, but thousands have been born with insufficiently developed joints; which according to the environment, lead to inflammation and spavin. The most exact investigation has failed to discover a case of hereditary tuberculosis, and yet thousands of children are born with such weak lungs as to be predestined to consumption in exposure in an environment favorable thereto. While we have congenital syphilis in children, which is mistakenly called hereditary (it is not so, because there is no constancy about it) it is a question if non-treatment and utter disregard of that disease in sexual union in a tribe or nation might not eventually make it hereditary for them to extinction; but that is not heredity in the accepted sense. There is no inheritance of characteristics as such, for all characteristics are but the physiological manifestations of material or organic structural action.

As said before, Dr. Round almost flatly denies this when he says, "morals are not inherited, except in so far as they are directly traceable to physical conditions." So long as "moralists" hold such an absurd opinion, so long is "moral irresponsibility" everywhere excusable. All

moral traits—good, indifferent and bad, have a material (brain) foundation, and no other. As such weaknesses can be and are not only transmitted, but may be augmented by indiscriminate sexual-gratification selection, it is self-evident that they must lead to the development of a minus or plus; this makes the genius, “good or bad,” as the case may be, of intelligent moral self-protectiveness. All and everything claimed for environment, pro or con, bringing such conditions to unpleasant or dangerous manifestation, is cheerfully admitted. That which I desire to emphasize, however, is the very narrow limits of an individual doing much with himself, except as his individual-inherited tendencies are modified by the pressure of environment on his intelligent (let it be fear) self-protectiveness. Any minus in this quality of brain-action must of necessity prove immoral to the individual or the community as such, and the same of an aggressive surplus of self-protectiveness, called individualism, without the limiting adjective. To sum up then. An immoral or criminal intellectual foundation is such as naturally results in a minus (varying in degree to total imbecility), of intelligent self-protectiveness, or a plus of natural individualistic aggressiveness (which may extend to murder), which entirely loses sight of individual self-protection. The material foundation to such action is inherited. That it is not often transmissible is evident from the causes given, indiscriminate sexual selection.

On the other hand, the very fact that the weaknesses have been so unimpressively hereditary and so easily equalized by indiscriminate sexual selection self-evidently indicates the tremendous influence an intelligent, moral, self-protective (in reference to child-protection) selection would and must have on the general prosperity of the race eventually. Altruistic, moralists must change their theoretical assertion. It is not that “every man is the architect of his own fortune,” but that the race may be the architect of its own evolution by educating its individuals to apply the law of self-protection intelligently to the relations of the sexes.

That is all the “free-will” man has towards cosmic law. He can apply it to his benefit if he will. He can neglect it, as he does, and unintelligently combat it, which

Huxley mistakenly advises humanity to do. The kind that survive, the fittest or the best, all depends on the manner in which man applies this cosmic law to himself. In that degree he has and can apply the cosmic law to his own moral evolution.

The main difference between myself and criminologists like Dr. Round is this: I deny the soul (Huxley's ethical process?) and place all action on material basis, and more value in heredity than they do, but not less on environment. But when they say as Round does: "I believe that a criminal is generally a criminal because it pays him to be a criminal, and becomes virtuous when it pays to be virtuous," they come to the intelligent application of the law of self-protection by the criminal, and truly indicate that the real cause is to be sought in the general lack of such knowledge in his parental and educational environment.

The general freedom and even condonement of the "big thief" is a constant support to the actions of the small thief. He finds his excuse in it. Recently a bank president who stole nearly a half-million got a five years' penitentiary sentence, while a boy in the same town who forged a check for five dollars, and gave the money back, was sent to jail for three years. The president keeps his stealings as his reward.

But, how does the material foundation of morals manifest itself in individuals, both having a hereditary foundation in the brain?

1. In heredity ideas or tendencies.
2. In ideas or tendencies made manifest by the influences of environment without individual intelligent action on the part of the actor—plastic individuality.
3. Idiosyncratic ideas, or the manifest intellectual individuality of the actor.

We often speak of the "private or the public conscience." We all know that the danger to public safety, or the rock in the way of communal evolution, is that there is still a vast immoral homogeneity, an indifferent plasticity in the "public conscience," which only arises to a moral homogeneity on occasions of great general alarm, when the self-protectiveness of all intelligent people is stimulated by a common danger to universal action in one direction, as

in case of threatening attack; the revolutionary uprising of the dangerous elements in society; rotten political administration on the part of party demagogues, either local or national, or in cases of financial disaster, as at present. On the other hand, we are equally aware that there are individuals among us whose intelligent moral self-protectiveness is so continually active on all such questions as to force them to keep up a constant objective study and inductive watchfulness, and a continual agitation of the otherwise apparently calm social seas in times of general financial prosperity. The "public conscience," baptizes them as "cranks or mugwumps" and wishes them "to Guinea." When in such a condition the "public conscience," which means the mass of the people, is simply ruled by what has been termed "heredity ideas." Their moral nature is of the "post hoc ergo propter hoc" character. "What is, or has been good enough for father and mother (and people before me), is good enough for me," is their guiding moral principle. According to the laws of heredity, the cerebral elements of their centers of intelligence have taken apparently the same arrangement and act in the same direction, as in their parents. Only cataclysmatic action in their environment can cause such a cerebral cataclysm as to awaken any active degree of intelligent self-protectiveness. They go to the same church their parents did and ancestors before them; they express the same theological sentiments; they adhere to the same political party; they do business in "the same old ruts." They do not think in an individualistic sense. They are plastically indifferent to surroundings. They detest any disturbance of their plastic equilibrium. They exist, but do not live in the best sense. Their plastic indifference makes them really the dangerous and most immoral element in society, though they generally attribute to themselves the characteristic of being the "best" element. They positively hate innovators and innovations. To educate and stimulate these people to a knowledge of their moral-self-protective responsibilities is the duty of every correct observer and logical inductive social philosopher for his own protection.

Then we have our second class,—the indifferently good, which is the same thing as the indifferently bad (our

"minister's son") who are absolutely incapable of being balanced, but are knocked hither and thither by the waves of social environment. Some of these are honored by the name of "saints" and others, receive quite the contrary cognomen.

And now to the third class,—individuals of marked individualism; sometimes so wonderfully self-protective and so hereditarily gifted that we call them geniuses. They are enabled to observe the workings of the cosmos correctively and to philosophically translate the manner thereof. We call these scientists. They are the true formers of the social cosmos. Those who teach us how to adapt ourselves to the cosmic laws so as to make our endeavors of the utmost self-protective and general-protective value at the same time. In this class must be reckoned a large number of enthusiastic, but "illy balanced," men, altruists, who are more particularly called "reformers;" who, failing in the knowledge of the cosmos which leads to certainty in conclusions, become attached to one or another deductive theory as to "how the world can be made better," and chase that ignus-fatuus the "brotherhood of man;" and, unfortunately, generally succeed in stimulating a most unlovable condition in a still more pathological variety of the same species, the anarchistic and social reformer. Men possessing the true scientific idiosyncrasy are generally to be pitied, especially in this country, because of their inability to awaken the indifferent self-protectivenesses of the masses, or attract the attention of those other idiosyncratic individuals, millionaires, to an interest in the value of their investigations to the general self-protection of the community. In this country, such men are accused of endeavoring to force the government into "paternalism."

There is still another variety of idiosyncratic individualism, which I believe in though men like Dr. Round do not, the criminal genius, whose intellectual self-protectiveness is so undeveloped, that they have no appreciation of it, like the notorious boy murderer, Pomeroy, in Massachusetts State Prison and many expert thieves. I admit, that in some cases, as Round claims, that the intelligent self-protectiveness of some of these can be so aroused by a change in environment that they can be made safe

members of society; but I deny that it can be done in all cases and never by "prayerful" means as he recommends in the "matter of purifying our politics." The means must be those of an active and forceful self-protective moral intelligence. I am not afraid to stake my reputation as a scientist on the statement that all and every form of these moral tendencies has a physical, material foundation, in the brains of each individual, and that such a foundation is inherited. I do not claim that it is or can be transmissible in every concrete case, because it would be hard to find any two individuals, male and female, in which such an ancestral prepotency existed as to make it necessarily potent in the offspring in our heterogeneous society, and under our present conditions of sexual selection.

But I do say that :

A man, a community or a nation is conscientious in direct degree to its intellectual appreciation of this fundamental cosmic law of self-protection.

Huxley's ethical process is a fetich. Altruism is also, a fetich. The cosmic law is not altruistic. It commands: "Do unto others as you would intelligently do unto yourself, were your life, liberty, health and happiness in danger."

¹ "More is the treasure of the law than gems;
Sweeter than comb its sweetness : its delights
Delightful past compare. Thereby to live—

"Kill not, for thine own sake;
The meanest thing may turn backward in its way.

"Give freely and receive, but take none
By greed, or force, or fraud;

"Bear not false witness, slander not, nor lie,
Truth is the speech of self-protective surety;

"Shun drugs and drinks which work thy wit abuse,
Clear minds, clear bodies need no such deathly juice.

"Touch not woman, unless thou wilt have child;
The law of self-protection says:
'Tis expensive to let passion so run wild."

¹ Adapted from "Light of Asia."

RIGHT AND RIGHTS.



RIGHT MUST BECOME MIGHT ERE IT CAN BE MIGHTY.

THERE is only one right. That is founded on natural law. The so-called "rights" seldom are. Socialism may be termed the art of modifying the methods of individualism to the uses of the masses. No one natural factor more illustrates the truth of evolution than the history of individualism. It begins with the simplicity of the one-celled monads in their struggle for existence and follows the course of increasing complexity until it ends in that most complex of all institutions, the human race.

Every individual human attribute has passed through the same stage. It is so with that question which we are about to discuss, the origin of right and what are human rights? The uncertainty existing on this question is to be sought, as in all social questions, in the influence of theology, which is the same thing as the ignorance of mankind. Though claiming to have priority as teachers of right, the theologians have ever been in direct opposition to the evolution of right and rights. They have, invariably, as a body, been on the wrong side of every moral advancement. They still uphold the inferiority of woman. They defended the "divine right of slavery." They oppose reason. They stand on traditional superstition. As a body they are not in the advance guard of any of the great socialistic movements of to-day. They live and thrive in semi-intellectual darkness. They are really the enemies of man more than they are his friends. Their chief attention is given to man dead, not man living. As a body they claim a mortgage on the teaching of morality and would keep it out of where it belongs—the public schools. The morality of theology finds its origin in the fiat commandments. The church knows no other. It has never yet recognized the fact that the first of all commandments, "Man, know thyself," is not included in the ten. Humanity must have been very ancient when the Jews first differentiated themselves as an individual na-

tion, the most individualistic which the world has ever known. Theology, though claiming to be of divine origin, has utterly failed to make its angelic character apparent. I remember when an orthodox theologian prayed at "Brimstone corner" in Boston, that the Lord would send an angel down to put a hook in Theodore Parker's tongue and draw it out by the roots for teaching justice to the black man. Whittier puts the acts of a Christian minister in verse, on a slave's rushing into his church for salvation against her pursuers.

"Quick, Deacon, throw the Polyglot
Before the wench and trip her."

Theology has been throwing its traditional polyglot in the way of the advance of justice and tripping man up ever since it had any record.

The "rights of man" are founded in and have been the result of socialism. Individualism has always been opposed to them. The church and the churches are among the most individualistic institutions in existence. No man who knows not its Christ can enter immortal life, but each one proceeds to damn the other's method of getting there. The ten commandments are of socialistic, not divine origin. They are the result of experience. They bespeak concessions forced by the masses from individuals who were exercising their individualism in such a manner as to be dangerous to the public peace. Last winter I heard an egotistical misplaced leader in American education tell an audience (in a sort of Fourth of July, spread-eagle address, on the superiority of Americans over all other people), "thank God there never have been, are not, any masses in America." That exclamation demonstrated the man's total unfitness for the position which he holds. I listened in astonishment and wondered if the man had ever read American history? This country, in its essential characteristics, was founded by a mass movement. The Pilgrims were a body of highly individualistic people who massed themselves into a theological commune and came to this country declaring, as an individualistic body, their divine right to worship God as they pleased, which right they made and retained by their united power. ("Might is right," and

always ever will be the only right known to man. Right never succeeds until it becomes might.) It is nothing against the argument that they allowed no one else the same privilege as long as they could prevent it and banished and tortured Baptists and Quakers. No individual in the land could have done as they did. They did it because they massed their individualism for a common purpose. A better example cannot be found in history if it includes the whole as an intelligent action. That is socialism. The "declaration of independence" was the result of a like movement against kingly individualism. Throwing the tea overboard in Boston Harbor was an earlier one. Protectionists should remember that the Revolution was fought on the idea of the masses that they had the right, and they demonstrated their might to tax themselves. No taxation without representation. Another revolution is coming in this country on the same basis against the individualistic aggressions of the manufacturing capitalists. The Constitution of this country makes massed might the legal power in the land. It does not need to be legalized. It legalizes itself when it can though the politicians at present ignore the people because they have not intelligence enough to know their rights and enforce them. What is their right? To gain what they want if they can do it. The politicians are right so long as they have the might. The people are wrong in that they are not true to themselves. Then came the war of the rebellion in which there was massing on both sides. The people on the South side massed themselves in the individualistic cause of local self-government made sacred to them by traditions from the fathers. Those of the North massed themselves individually also, for the preservation of the individualism of the nation, a necessary political move for "a nation divided against itself cannot stand." Neither side cared an iota about the Negro, although he was the bone of contention before the issue came to blows. The claim that the republican party freed the Negro is false. The exigencies of war and the political sagacity of Lincoln did that! The farmers' movement to-day, the various labor movements, and the woman's movement are all mass movements of the people for what they con-

sider justice towards each individual in the respective movements. Such "clap-trap" as "that there are no masses in America" is contrary to history. Were there none, were such movements impossible, the grave of justice would have been dug and humanity shrouded in the gloom of ignorance and mental and bodily slavery. Russia is a country where there are no masses except the nihilists. Russia is a country where the people have still so little individuality, that they have not individualism enough to mass themselves against one of the most oppressive individualisms on earth. The partisan political machinery of this country is about as bad. Few Americans would believe that an American cabinet-officer would do his utmost to ruin a citizen's private business, or drive a man out of active life who was intent on serving his country for political reasons? That has been done. The gibbet or imprisonment are too good for such traitors. A people who support a government which countenances such villainy are not worthy the name of "freemen." They are slaves. That is what the mass of the American people are to-day. Such a rotten government should not exist. It cannot. It will not. A change must come. It can never come so long as machine politics exist. We must smash the machine. Trusts are communal individualisms. So are labor unions, the farmers' party and the woman's movement. They are socialistic only in so far as what they aim for must result to the general good, and is universally applicable. The woman's movement is the most socialistic of all. Right and rights find their origin in natural religion. They find their grave in theology. They find their origin in religion, because religion is that impression which all natural phenomena have on the human mind which incites it to seek cause. Theology seeks but one cause, and both right and rights have many causes. They began before the Gods and were perfected before man had developed to an egotistical God. They have been growing more and more heterogeneous and complex with the multiplication and grouping of men. The first divine right theology has no knowledge of because it was and is founded in ignorance. When the ten commandments were first collected into a fiat, man knew even less

about himself than now. Anatomy was not born until the 15th century and physiology only became introduced by Harvey in the early part of the 17th. In a lately published work on Justice, Mr. Spencer has a chapter on "pre-human justice." Certainly the good man has lived too long or at least written too late in life. There is no such thing as justice outside of man and of man. Mr. Spencer is an individualist of the most strict type. He knows, if he stops to think, that crude natural individualism and justice are as distant as the poles. His writings demonstrate that Huxley saw the rock in his way and did not see how to avoid it. To offset individualism he falls back on traditional superstition and adopts the fetich altruism or "brotherly love."

MIGHT IS RIGHT.

Most people of to-day will be inclined to doubt that assertion; but I would like to see them prove one single social right which has not been a concession won from individualism by massed might. Might may do wrong, but the right has never been so until it became might. The nature of individualism—"go as you please" in itself—contradicts any possibility of concession, until forced from it by stronger might.

"NATURAL RIGHTS."

In these modern days we hear a deal about "natural rights" which in some measure has taken the place of that other traditional assertion, "God-given rights." In the face of all and every authority I am willing to stake my reputation as a thinker that no such thing as a natural right exists, except such as can be asserted by natural might or individualism. Let us test this point by that right which is asserted to be the most sacred of all rights, the "right to life." One of the chief of the fiat commandments reads, "thou shalt not kill," but, judging by results God is the greatest murderer on record. Children die in-utero, or only live long enough to make a few gasps from hereditary or congenital weakness, and in the end all die from old age or disease. If the right to life

were a divine fiat all should live and there should be no death. This looks like absurd reasoning, and it is; yet owing to the authority of traditional ignorance, the whole world has gone mad about natural or God-given rights. It is no more absurd than the majority of the teachings of theology. It is no more absurd than Mr. Spencer's "pre-human justice." The right to live depends entirely on the child having the might to live, on its individualism. The first life of the child is a simpler struggle for existence than that of the most pre-historic of our anthropomorphic ancestors. Its environment is so decidedly individualistic that, aside from its mother's milk and care, it entirely consists of its own constitution and its ability to live. We can suppose a case where the mother is in actual health herself, but in which the child is diseased, or weakly, syphilitic, and unable to make use of its mother's milk and care. It dies! Thousands of children die annually, it is well they do, among the unfortunate classes of society, which among those better off are, by the utmost care kept on to eke out a more or less lengthened existence of misery. The want of individualism is made up for temporarily by the arts of socialism which in this case nourishes a serpent in its own bosom, and the arts of civilization keep up a population expensive and detrimental to itself. Social morality is the product of socialism, which must learn of natural individualism, and with all humanity, prevent that misery and expense which nature allows to take its own course, regardless of the expense to the sufferer or to others. No one has really more sympathy with human misery than the writer. The question at issue is, shall we continue, as now, through the influences of traditional ignorance, to outdo the savagery of nature and keep it alive by ill-advised and continued charity, or shall we take a lesson of nature and overcome the struggle for existence by not creating those unfit to survive? To my mind this is the acme of common-sense, socialistic science, and human development. There is but one higher point, and that is to disobey the first fiat altogether, and refuse "to be fruitful and multiply and replenish" the fountains of human misery. When man arrives at that point, and I predict that it is not very distant among the more highly-evolved people, he has sur-

mounted all fetich-worship whatever, and in the Buddhist and natural sense, become "master over self."

It is difficult enough for the most intelligent to do their utmost to protect themselves by doing all they can to prevent the combined miseries of all diseases in others. So long as disease exists, so long as the struggle for existence exists, no educated man and woman should feel themselves warranted in producing a child.

THE SOCIALIST'S VOW.¹

"O suffering world,
 Oh ! known and unknown of common flesh
 Caught in this common net of death and woe,
 And life which binds to both ! I see, I feel
 The vastness of the agony of life,
 The vainness of its joys, and mockery
 Of all its best, the anguish of its worst ;
 Since pleasure ends in pain, and youth in age
 And love in loss, and life in hateful death.
 Me too this lure hath cheated, so it seemed
 Lovely to live, and life a sunlit stream
 Forever flowing in a changeless peace :
 Whereas the foolish ripple of the flood
 Dances so lightly down by bloom and lawn
 Only to pour its crystal quicker
 Into the foul salt sea ! I am as all these men,
 Who cry unto their Gods and are not heard
 Or are not heeded—yet there must be aid,
 For them and me and all there must be help.
 How can it be that God
 Would make a world and keep it miserable,
 Since, if all-powerful, he leaves it so,
 He is not good, and if not powerful
 He is not God ?"

Where, then, shall deliverance be sought ? Nowhere, but in and of ourselves ! There is no other way open to put an end to this misery than by intelligent people stopping procreation and protecting themselves by educating and protecting others to protect themselves in the same way from the results of their own ignorance and that of others.

Notwithstanding the mandate of theology, "thou shalt not kill," the priests have never accepted it. The cruel wars for the theologies, the tortures of the inquisition, the

¹ "Light of Asia."

synodical inquisitions of such bodies of traditional ignorance as has just condemned Professor Briggs, all show that the priesthood has refused and still refuses to follow the commands of its own fetich. It is natural individualism in all these cases in combat with a more enlightened socialism. Even socialism cannot accept the mandate, for it must protect its own body politic, the individualism of the whole. This is what is known as justice. Herbert Spencer to the contrary, it found its origin in man and is not of pre-human antecedents. We still condemn the murderer, not as the fool-writers on some dailies say, to revenge the murdered, but to shock others who may become dangerous, to protect ourselves. Murder is not a crime to the one killed, but to those left behind, and to society on whom they may become dependent.

He who kills but cuts short the course of worldly misery.

He who creates a new being introduces an innocent life into the hell of living—

Two men who kill each other, and are absolutely free from any dependences whatever, cannot be said to have committed a crime. No one but a person bereft of all common sense would call it a crime if the two murderers lately escaped from Sing Sing killed each other, or one killed the other and then himself? Whichever way it was, society was surely benefited in more ways than one. There is still another view of the right to life in that it is called criminal for a person to kill him or herself. Hence I must take that fetich by the horns and behead it and show that there is

VIRTUE IN SUICIDE.

Let us go back to nature once more, and look on this thing from both an individualistic and socialistic aspect, and ask, "When may or should a person take his own life?" There are several answers.

1. Whenever he wants to, if he has no one dependent on him, and can do it without expense to others, and finds life not worth living to himself.

2. When he is no good to himself, and a burden and expense to others.

We all know of hundreds of cases where it would be a kindness to himself and a terrible relief to the other members of a poor family if an old, unfortunate, decrepit and otherwise diseased person would only quietly divide the placid waters of some deep pool so that the place that knew him would know him no more.

3. When a person is diseased with an incurable transmissible disease and is therefore dangerous and expensive to those around him, like syphilis, consumption in some cases, or leprosy.

There is no question as to the justice of that condition, so far as all the rest of the world is concerned. As a solitary individual, a person may commit suicide when he pleases. His life is his. He did not ask to come into this world and he need ask no one to go out of it.

It is a crime when any one else is injured by his act. There are cases where it is a matter of the most noble virtue, as we call it. It is no more than suicide when a soldier leads a forlorn hope and dies on the ramparts of the enemy with his country's flag in his hand. We call it patriotism then. It is no more than suicide, and is often spoken of as suicidal, when one takes his life in his hands in case of shipwreck, fire, or some pestiferous disease, to save the lives of others. We praise it then and call it the noblest of human virtues.

“ For how can man die better
Than in facing fearful odds
For the altars of his fathers
And the temples of his Gods ? ”

Why is it not worthy of even more praise, instead of being branded as criminal or cowardly, when in such cases as named above, in the quiet of home life, a diseased or aged and useless person takes himself bravely away? Answer me that?

What we all need is a heroism, an individuality of that kind among us, instead of a superstitious regard for life. Duty to self is individualistic. Duty to others socialistic.

There is still another breakage of the law “ thou shalt not kill ” which has much of the fetich about it. I will put it this way.

WHEN IS INFANTICIDE JUSTIFIABLE?

Now spring up, ye theological bigots, and shout, "Never." To them I am not afraid to retort, "Ever, in a great many cases."

Let me quote some of them.

1. Always, by a skilful operator, when the reputation and future happiness of a woman deceived by a man, and unmarried and otherwise virtuous, can be protected from the savagery of society. All sensible women should endorse that, and every man who is not chained to tradition and has any manhood.

Does not the law allow it when, in the judgment of the physician, it is necessary to save the married mother's life?

Here is a case in point :

"MANSLAUGHTER IS ALLEGED."

The case was as follows :

The dead woman was well known in ——— where she resided with her six children, the oldest being about fifteen years of age. She was about forty years old, and of rather attractive appearance. The police say that she has not lived with her husband for some time, owing to family troubles.

In the first place the woman went to the physician; she went to him not only to save her from disgrace which we will assume her own and her family's necessities forced her into; she went to him as a mother to prevent her "accident" bringing disgrace on her living children. The woman may have "sinned" in the worldly sense, but is the physician such a terrible criminal who serves to protect her and her children from disgrace? In this case, it looks as if society had to assume the burdens of the woman's "sins" as a married woman, the husband having deserted her. The trouble is in society, not the woman, not the physician. It is the duty of society to protect the woman, the child and the physician and itself.

In performing infanticide as recommended, are we not doing that? Are we not first saving a child, which as yet is not an individual, and hence has no real existence, from the probability of being born in shame, living in crime and misery and ending in jail? In other words, are we not applying the natural law of individualism to society? Are we not saving ourselves? Again! are we not, if done quietly, saving the mother from disgrace and from a miserable life, and society from what Parkhurst calls "an enemy," but I term a safety-valve from its male-animalism? Still again, were this act not made criminal, many, one might say most, parents would not "kick" their unfortunate and sinned against (not sinning) daughters out into the world, as they do now in deference to the theological fetich and their own inhuman ignorance, "to go to perdition." Let us talk plain! We are trying to find a way of saving ourselves and to that end must save all the others we can. We know not God and fear no other devil than human ignorance and theological superstition.

2. Always, when the mother desires it, or will permit it, even at some risk, when she is a criminal or a prostitute, or has a chronic infectious disease transmissible to the fœtus.

This needs no argument. For the same reasons, to protect ourselves from a possible criminal and the unborn child from untold miseries.

3. When the mother is bound to have it done and with the father's consent, because such a woman will generally bring up a child which in some way will become a burden on society.

4. Always when the born child is diseased or deformed at birth, and its life must of necessity be either dangerous to the living, or a horrible burden and degenerator of public morals (I allude to the monstrosity expositions in dime musées and to consumptive, imbecile, or syphilitic and deformed children).

This work should be most rigidly controlled by the state. Only appointed surgeons of unquestionable skill and integrity should be allowed to perform, and then only in public hospitals. The private abortionist should be done away with and would be under such a law. The utmost

secrecy should be observed to preserve the self-respect of the unfortunate, though exact records should be kept in due form.

This is the application of the law of self-protection to child-birth in order to controvert the struggle for existence. No doubt the words are bold. The question is, are they not true? If so we must hammer at such principles until society is educated to them and they be made laws. In all truth, I challenge any one to show that the above is not carrying out the natural law, but in a much more merciful manner?

It is self-evident that there is no such thing as a "natural right." (The natural or individual rights are of a physiological nature.) "Rights" are concessions forced from a strong individualistic might by the more powerful might of massed organization. When the concession is of such a nature as to become a law of universal application (more than national) it is socialistic. Otherwise it is communistic. The individualism of man universal in contradistinction to man single or man communal or man national, is socialism.

Let us illustrate the evolutionary origin of the idea of right and rights by some examples.

We will take the story of Adam and Eve. When Adam was in the garden of Eden alone he could act as he pleased, and exercise his individualism all he pleased. But, after the Lord had performed the feat of hypnotic surgery and removed his rib, and made woman from it, then Adam had to compromise matters to keep peace in the Garden. He did not like apples, but Eve did, and insisted that he should eat them even if he did have the colic. So he ate them! That was the first case of woman's establishing her right to be head of the family. Now take the bachelor of to-day! He is monarch of his own room! He can dress or undress as he pleases; throw his clothes where he pleases; smoke, chew and do as he pleases. But, when he takes unto himself a rib, he has to make concessions to her individuality and many of these things have to be changed. Next a child is born. The father has to make concessions to the mother, and both to the child for its welfare and that of all concerned, and so on, with the increase of the family. We may call these concessional

rights due to innate human instincts. Next, the eldest child exerts its individualism and by its greater strength robs the younger children of their toys, or any object possessed by them. But, these younger children together are stronger than the oldest and by their united might make him give up to them the stolen property, and force such respect for their united might from him that he leaves them in peace. The parents, observing the difficulty brings trouble, make a family law that each child shall respect the ownership of the other to its toys. Hence grew a second social commandment, "Thou shalt not steal." The same is becoming very much observed by breaking it of late. It is not a law universal, for the things pronounced a crime to steal in one land are a virtue in another. The laws of "thou shalt not" become more and more complex as society becomes developed and heterogeneous. We say of a man to-day, who exercises his individuality to a degree threatening the welfare of society, that he is "a great scoundrel." It was said of Jay Gould, who simply absorbed and made his own that which the people had not intelligence enough to obtain and retain, or do for themselves. The business communism of to-day condones many really great thefts, if the thief is a large distributor of goods. It allows him "to settle for twenty-five cents on the dollar," in hopes that it will leave him stolen capital enough to continue business again and enable them to win the amount previously stolen and make some more by selling him goods. This national support of dishonesty is far more the cause of the present financial troubles than the money question alone. The silver issue itself has an equally dishonest basis. Honesty is only a policy, good when it pays best. The lucky thief of great amounts is condoned in time and returns from Canada "a smart man." The starving unfortunate who steals bread is punished. "King dollar" will kill himself eventually by the social demoralization it is working in more ways than one, and honesty will become a virtue of necessity instead of a policy to be broken at will. The trouble is the public is not itself honest at present. The struggle between human beings is getting so severe as to shatter "the best laid-schemes of men" though the mice often get the benefits. Recently in this country, a bank president

smashed a National bank so that no one can find the fragments, and comparatively caused the immediate financial ruin of a great many people. The law of self-preservation is so great that they have lost all regard for the integrity of the National banks as institutions of general public welfare, and petitioned the attorney-general at Washington to let the sinner off, on condition that—he return enough of his stealings to reimburse them. The sinner preferred five years in jail and to save the stealings. They do not consider the stockholders, or any one but themselves, and yet in that same town a man is trying to unite the people of the churches into an organization of brotherly love. The pension fraud, the want of an honest respect for the sanctity of the public funds, and the race for public office all indicate that the severe struggle of the present, due to the undue multiplication of those not having the might to really take care of themselves, has caused a condition of national depravity of a most threatening nature.

THE RIGHTS OF THE WAGE-EARNER.

The wage-earners of the world are, perhaps, led away more than any other class by the fetich that the "world owes every man a living," whether he has the ability to win it or not. They are so theologically misled as to have no conception of the value of, and hence, utterly ignore the lessons of naturalism. As has been said, their unions for self-protection are communistically individualistic and not socialistic. They seek not only to level down to a common plane the men in their ranks, but would, if they could, bring all men down to the same level. Their methods kill out all individualism to such a degree as to ruin self-respect. They produce a condition among themselves akin to that in Russia. Were the labor and farmer movements truly socialistic, and did their members correctly appreciate individualism, they would all see that their endeavors should be directed to the leading up of their members, by education, to the condition of individualistic self-preservation, and that the individualism they are opposing should not be leveled down but regulated so as not to be directed to the injury of any one. On the

contrary, their actions are based on the idea that "all men are born equal," and if they are not so they must be made so; and if they will not be made so, if a mechanic of the same trade will not join the union, because he can make more than the scheduled wages, and is therefore worth more, then they endeavor to crush him out. Where the wage-earners proceed to that degree of communal individualism they are worse than the "bosses" whom they oppose. They become at enmity with the well-being of the whole. They are enunciating a principle which is opposed to universal individualism which has the might and should exercise it. Such a laborer should be protected in his work, if it took a regiment of soldiers and a thousand union men had to be killed in the cause of justice. The idea of rights as something natural or God-given is most erroneous and misleading. The people must be educated and learn that it is not an inviolable right which cannot exist, which they need, but justice.

The wage-earners have made a terrible mistake all along in their movement. They can learn much of the farmer movement in that regard. They have kept out of politics where the farmers have gone in, while at the same time they were a hundred-fold better prepared to enter that field than the farmers. Their organizations are already ancient. They have been discussing their relations to employers for years. They have developed born-leaders of great intelligence out of their ranks who should have sense enough to represent the wage-earner and keep clear of all machine political affiliations, and at the same time have that breadth of intelligence to realize that the wage-earners, whom they represent, are a part of the body-politic, and that one part of the organism cannot be injured without interfering with the prosperity of the whole, or one part unduly favored without leading to a similar result. The very best representation capitalistic individualism can produce is not much, if any, superior to such men as Arthur, Gompers, Powderly and Henry George.

The farmer movement is too young to have any men in and from its ranks capable of intelligently representing it. It has already almost wrecked itself by its intense communistic individualism and reckless disregard of justice to the

capitalistic classes. It has felt its own weakness so much as to be willing to be led as a victim to the slaughter by a lot of disgruntled, dead-beat demagogues who being unable to continue their methods, even in the old parties, offered the farmers the "free devotion" of their greater political sagacity. If the farmers are wise they will drop them. They will keep on electing men from their own ranks to represent them until the right men show themselves, which they will if there is anything inspiring ambition in the movement. They will not seek leaders, but wait for them. No surer test of the actual justice of the movement can be had than whether it has real virtue enough in it to inspire its own leaders or not. It must be admitted that thus far it has been so decidedly and unjustly communistic and shown so much incompetence and ignorance as to create a feeling of distrust and disgust in the minds of unprejudiced students of social science, and also among really strong and intelligent men who have thus far been in the movement. The farmers of the west can receive no better advice than, under no consideration, to trust to a political hack of any kind. A man who has not so much individualistic socialism about him, and so much intelligence, as to be known among men for what he is and be elected on that ground because the electors are sure he will do his duty as he sees it, is not fitted to represent the people in this or any other country. Learn a lesson of capitalistic individualism. It sends no incompetents to represent it! It is sure of its men, not because it buys them, but because they are from and of it. It buys the doubtful and unprincipled to vote but not to work for it. True socialistic movements want no tools with the brand of party slavery on their brows. Socialism wants men so well known for broad intelligence, common-sense and sterling justice that no man need ask "What they will do?" Their past is the key to their future. They must be true evolutionists and understand fully the development of man and all human institutions in order to legislate wisely and correctly point the ship of State along the line of the future. Our legislation has been patch-work of the most crazy-quilt fashion. True statesmanship has not been shown much in this country.

So much has been said about the relation of socialism

to individualism that but little more is necessary to be said about capitalistic individualism. It now seems as if it was bound to wreck itself against that rock on which individualism has ever shattered itself: the massing of its opponents. But of all the self-protectionists on earth the capitalist is the most sensitive and biggest, because the most intelligent. Their opponents must be careful not to drive them into too tight a corner. There is no barometer more sensitive than the capitalists' fear of monetary disturbance. They must be taught, until they learn, as must the wage-earners, that the whole is greater than a part. The Canute of socialism must teach all these factional disturbers of the surface of the social sea, "thus far canst thou go and no farther." We want no state government tomfoolery. These are national questions. Let the President and his Cabinet and Congress attend to them, and where guards to property are necessary let it be the people's soldiers, the army of the United States, and not irresponsible state militia. In this sense I am a nationalist, as, in the still broader sense, I am an internationalist.

The battle-cry of to-day is, as it has ever been, "Down with the barriers to human progress." Individualistic selfishness has built them; socialistic justice must raze and disperse them. The work of socialism is to keep one constant hammering at every barrier to mutual intercourse between men and nations, as between mother and child, until commerce has become so universally powerful and beneficial that swords shall be broken into pruning-hooks, fortresses demolished, and a custom-house officer's only use to be a petrified curiosity in a dime museum.

SOCIALISM NOT PARTIAL PATERNALISM.

In the foregoing pages I have endeavored to give the reader a very clear idea of what individualism and socialism really are, and to show that those movements looked on as socialistic have been thus far individualistic. It seems to me there can be no further question as to what socialism is and its true mission. The old ideas will probably prevail much longer, and we shall still see and hear semi-educated writers and speakers giving utterance to

the absolutely absurd idea that socialism and paternalism are one and the same thing. If paternalism is the constant endeavor of the best intelligence of a country, as represented in its government to discover the causes of social disturbances and diseases in the body-politic, and to find the best means to so adjust the discrepancies and antagonizing forces that no interest and individual shall suffer, then paternalism and socialism are identical. Anything short of this, any partiality, or neglect in any one direction, separates them at once. Paternalism is too full of prejudices to be just. As things now are there is no one of the great governments on earth with so much paternalism and so little true socialism in its practical application as that of the United States of America. What can be more paternalistic than the custom "to the victor belongs the spoil" which seeks to take care of every machine henchman, and by which politicians force their incompetent and often unprincipled followers and relatives on the public for support? The "Democrat Party" howls against paternalism, but fails to realize that its second great fetich, Andrew Jackson, introduced it into American public life. It declares for Jeffersonian principles, but like theology it denies "its Lord" who advocated the strongest individualism. What is protection but the most violent paternalism and partiality for a small number of ultra-individualists at the expense of the people at large? Our whole government is one vast system of paternalism of the most partial kind. It is "favorite sons" in every quarter. It is not for the people! It has become an universally accepted principle that this is an absolutely "free country, open, like the Chicago Fair," to the world. This idea found its expression in the saying, which is almost assumed to be axiomatic, "that Uncle Sam has land enough to give us all a farm." The result has been that we have a "Midway Plaisance" of the most unfortunate and ill-bred and even criminal classes, and the human savagery of all creation among us. What is that but paternalism of the most ruinous description? It is contrary to natural individualism. It is contrary to all intelligent socialism. Socialism has the difficult task of discovering what justice is and executing it. Injustice comes of itself and dispenses itself. It is contrary to

common-sense. What we want is individualism enough in immigrants sufficient to take care of themselves, as is to be found in the better portion of the Anglo-germanic races, the Jews and Chinese. We do not want, and it would have been better if we never had had, the fetichitic ignorance of the world most fully represented by the Irish and Italians and French-Canadians. The former are of use to the country. The latter are only useful to the politicians, and Roman hierarchy. While the people assert that this is the country where individualism puts every one on its own basis, it cannot be denied that the politicians have made most all the laws so as to get the most possible for themselves, and the result has been and is, paternalism. But the people are awakening. Socialism is extending. It is as natural a result as individualism is natural. The mistake of the masses, as repeatedly stated is, that they do not understand individualism, and hence, cannot comprehend socialism, any more than the individualists do. The fetich "equality of man" has blinded the eyes of the masses. Humanity cannot be leveled up by massing alone unless the masses come to comprehend that it depends on their individual ability. That can only be acquired by the education of the people and breeding in and in by severe selection of the winning individualistic qualities. Massing must result in one of two directions. If intelligent and socialistic in action it clears the way and removes much mistaken social rubbish. If ignorant and exclusively communistic it encumbers the way by the accumulation of more rubbish.

It has been said that the strong individualists have influenced the laws of this country for themselves. Is this wrong? Why should not those who have the ability to win make the laws of the land? What kind of a country would that be in which the weak governed? The people can make them when they have the intelligence to, and can mass might enough to make their intelligence active. It is not in the nature of things that they should until that time comes. As it is now, they are the pawns played by clever politicians for their own benefit. The political individualist yields to the successful business individualist all he desires as long as the latter supplies the "sinews of war" by which the former keeps in office. The politi-

cian represents himself first and those who pay for his music, according to his interest. The people never! The political hack's days are being numbered. The chains of political slavery are being shaken off. The rattling of the bones of that rotten corpse-political may be heard on the prairies of the west and in the streets of the manufacturing cities and hamlets of the land. Socialism can never go backward any more than evolution can, so long as man can better his position by study, thought and action.

The trouble with the masses is, that they do not know where to go, or are afraid to trust, or make use of the true leaders of humanity, the men of great intelligence, men of extreme intelligent individualism, who are so bred that they can but follow their natural inclinations and become the practical leaders of all that is best in man. These men are rising out of the universal mass the world over.

The materialists form the strongest and most reliable leaders. The less fetichism and reverence for traditional ignorance a man has the better he is fitted to lead mankind into the land of true individualistic socialism.

THE NATURALIZATION OF LAND.

THE WORLD BELONGS TO HIM WHO HAS THE MIGHT TO OBTAIN AND MAINTAIN HIS RIGHT.

THOUGH not by any means a new idea, the theory that the "nationalization of land," is a "sure cure" for all the social evils of poverty has become quite generally diffused of late both in this country, Britain and other parts of the world. While some few only look on it as a practical way out of the social muddle, others, like Henry George and his followers, take the absurdly false and illogical position that the people should once more appropriate the land as their natural and "God-given right." Let me say that I, too, have been an advocate of the nationalization scheme for practical economical reasons, and that I had already written some pages on this subject before I came to the conclusion that I had also been seeking a fetich, and that it is against all common sense. Why I changed my mind will come out in course of time. The position of Mr. George and his followers has never had any support from me as to why natural resources should be nationalized. They are ignorant followers of the theological fetich, that the "good Father" first created everything for man and then made him, and, in a formal and dignified manner, presented it and the keys thereof to him at the gates of the garden called Eden. The arguments previously brought forward as to the origin of right and rights all apply here. As has been shown, all so-called natural rights depend on the ability to appropriate and the might to maintain them on the part of the individual. Not one foot of nature, not a bird or a fish was ever made for man, or else he would not have to labor as he does and run the dangers he does to obtain them. If nature was made for man why did the "good Father" make so much of it that man cannot live on it, except with great danger to himself. Some parts are safe only after terrible labor on man's part. Take for example the malarial districts, the Ganges Delta with its cholera and the yellow-fever districts, the deadly "Gold Coast" of Africa, were they made for man? Were

the gold, the silver and other minerals made for man? If so, they would be where he could get at them at once. The history of the evolution of man absolutely contradicts it. Were all things made for man there would have been no wooden age, no stone or iron age, each of which portray that the inventive genius of man was called upon to meet the urgencies of an ever-increasing severity in his environment. Man has gradually found these things useful and has appropriated them and held on to that part of nature yielding them by his might and nothing else. This may be rank heresy, but it is fidelity to the facts as they stand before us in undeniable records.

In two articles, recently published,¹ no less a person than Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace, (the naturalist, who has some claim to dispute with Darwin the priority of discovering the natural law of the "survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence,") comes out in favor of the land nationalization idea in a manner not only surprising for the misapplication and miscomprehension of facts, but also threateningly dangerous, and all the more so from the seemingly high authority supporting it. The articles are entitled

"THE SOCIAL QUAGMIRE AND THE WAY OUT."

That in the March number of *The Arena* is devoted to the supposed conditions of the western farmer and the second, in April, to the wage-earners. In the first paper Mr. Wallace begins with a very fair description of the farmers of New England at the beginning of the century. He states truly that they were generally very prosperous; that they owned their land, for which neither they nor their ancestors ever paid much; that they were independent, made their own clothes, shoes, and most of their implements, and depended but little on the towns for anything but the greatest luxuries, of which they used very little. In other words they easily sold all their surplus and bought but little. (Taxes were merely nominal in those days.—The politician had not been evolved). Then he goes on and endeavors, and really thinks he is successful, to compare the condition of the far-western farmer of to-day, with his mortgages, his bonds to rail-

¹ *Arena*, March and April, 1893.

roads and other boom corporations, and loud-toned distress, with those early New Englanders. The comparison is unfounded, because there is not and cannot be any comparison between the men and the conditions. Had Mr. Wallace applied the principle of the struggle for existence to his comparison he would have seen at once that while the New Englanders he refers to were eminently fitted to survive in anything but a barren desert environment, that the westerners who are so pitifully off are equally unfitted to survive in any environment which demands much ability to do and the might to maintain oneself in anything but a semi-barbarous and perishing condition.

It must not be forgotten that agriculture represents the lowest phase in what may be termed artificial-social evolution. Every art above that requires more natural ability. With the invention of machinery and rivalries of life agriculture takes its part with the rest and calls for more and more ability to win.

Let us take a glance back to those New Englanders first. "The stern and rock-bound coast" of the country they settled, the woods secreting the wily and barbarous Indian offered certainly as apparently unfavorable environment as ever man was driven to to make a permanent home. The very westerners, for whom Mr. Wallace expresses so much sympathy, point with pride to the broad stoneless and treeless acres of the "richest land on earth" and with a contemptuous turn of the upper lip and slurring voice speak of the "effete east where the stones are so thick that they have to whittle down the sheeps' noses so they can get between them and find grass." The material those westerners are made of would starve to death and die out in the environment of Massachusetts in 1620.

Mr. Ingalls says "pedigree" in man is valueless, but I think if we trace the pedigree of the majority of those thrifty farmers of New England back a generation or so that it is easy enough to understand why they could not help but succeed and be prosperous. Two environments made it a self-evident result. They came from the early Puritans, than whom, as has been shown, a grander collection of men and women, in the individualistic sense,

never lived. Individuals, with the might to can and will to do crystalized in them as in no other people except the Jews. The rigors of the climate soon weeded out the weakly ones and left the strong as the progenitors of men and women who have left their mark in every state and every large city from Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate of the Pacific Coast. The barrenness of the natural environment, combined with their natural frugality, developed their self-looking-out-for individualism to a most wonderful degree. They were economical in the most strict sense of the term. How often have I heard the western farmer slurringly speak of the smallness and meanness of those New Englanders. There is a very illustrative story told of one of them who had been an officer in the "late wah" and went to Maine on some grand-army excursion. The train was side-tracked at some small way-station surrounded by stony hills and the general New England aspect. A "countryman," attracted by the unusual sight of a train of semi-militaries in a time of peace, left his place "back on the hills" and wended his way to the station. Our "Colonel" (they are most all officers out west now, whatever they were in the days when the fighting was done. The soldiers must have been pretty well killed off) seeing the "hayseed" proceeded in western vernacular "to take a rise out of him" for the benefit of his companions, and said, "Well, neighbor, how can you live here among all these stones, you ought to sell out or run away and come out west, for we have land that will raise something besides scrub-pine-trees and huckleberry bushes?" The "hayseed" from New England mildly replied, "That may all be so, neighbor, but if you fellows on the good land out west would only pay me the interest you owe me for money made among these stones and bushes, I might be able to do as you say and see if what you tell me is true." The whistle fortunately blew before the Colonel had time to recover from his defeat and surprise.

It was the intellectual and physical characteristics of the New Englander which made him successful where weaker men would have failed.

It so happens that the writer is a descendant of that solid "Yeomanry of New England," of whom the late

Hon. George B. Loring used to delight to spread-eagle at the annual meetings of the New England Agricultural Association, and has also had an equally intimate connective with the agricultural interests of the west. It has been said that the New England farmers of the times past so lived at home that they could sell all their surplus and needed to buy little but a "French calico," for the good wife, some tea, coffee and molasses, and, mention it not, the proverbial barrel of New England rum, to entertain the minister and deacons with and put "steam" into the hands at harvest time. Mighty little credit or bartering of the immediate products of the farm, at the neighboring town stores was indulged in. Nor were the dry-goods boxes whittled to pieces in front of the village stores by lazy farmers looking for customers to buy the "rich land" they were too indolent to cultivate. New England thrift exemplified itself in the axiom "Time is money." The westerner's maxim is apparently "Time don't amount to nothin'." Another thing, the New Englander sold his surplus directly to the consumer and for cash. It used to be largely the custom that the stalls in Quincy Market, were leased by the farmers about Boston, and that the lease remained in the family for years. They had their clerks, and daily took in the fresh products of their farms and sold them directly to the citizens, and though not done in just this manner, practically the same thing occurred in all the New England cities and towns. There was no west then, and New England lived on her own products and offered a direct market without the necessity of an army of middle-men to swallow up the major part of the profits in commissions. That is why things were "so cheap," in the good old days. Even to-day, the New England farmer has a far more direct market for his products than the westerner, and what there are of them are far more prosperous if one can judge by the general appearance of thrift and neatness prevailing in comparison to the slouchiness and unthriftiness of the westerner. Those who doubt the judgment here expressed should "go west." Always stop in the town to see the westerner. He is only at home at his farm when he cannot help it. The question of labor cannot be much different between the

New Englander of a century past and the westerner of to-day. If anything, it is in favor of the latter. But there is one point in which the westerner is at a great disadvantage and for which he is not to blame. People in those "good old days," did not live by their "wits" alone as has become the modern craze. The sons and daughters went to the village school and perhaps the academy, but in no case were they burning with disgust of farm life and thinking night and day how they could get rid of it and "strike a soft job," in some city or town, or a United States Government position by working for "our kindicate." They were attached to the "old homestead" their forefathers had purchased (or stolen) from the Indians. They were content to work and spend the winters in reading and discussion around the glorious open fireplaces of the kitchen, which, thankfully, modern New England is replacing in the parlor. They stayed "by the old folks," and it was only with profound regret that they left "because the old place could not support them all. It is true that the most gifted ones, those with an intellectual individualism, did "strike out" and enter Harvard, some to be ministers, some lawyers, and others entered the mercantile field, while an occasional one filled with a spirit for "seeing the world," joined fortunes with "Old Neptune;" but the records show that the majority of them made their mark, and, what is more, they never forget the old home, even though clad with stunted pines; and if the sheep did have a hard time of it they managed to yield the wool which the "gude-wife" and merry daughters made into durable homespun on winter eves for father and brothers and themselves, and the sire and boys made shoes and repaired the farm utensils while the grandsire slowly and reverently read the Bible to the gathered family.

That was the New England farmer of a century ago. Now for the westerner!

"Cheap lands" have been and still are his curse. President Harrison is reported to have said in regard to free trade making clothing cheaper that "cheap clothes made cheap men." Coming from the west he might also have said "that cheap lands attract cheap men." That is the chief trouble in the west. The people are the

cheapest thing there. There is no comparison between the New England farmer as he was when Mr. Wallace writes about him and the present westerner.

Let us take Kansas and Nebraska for our comparison, for it is in those states that the cry of "agricultural depression" is raised the loudest. The earliest white men in those states, except the gold-seekers on the way to the Eldorado of the Pacific, were the trappers; men of an individualism of an idiosyncratic type; men who scorned home attachments and civilization; men who generally died "with their boots on," and who generally left no progeny; or, if they did, it was "half Injun" and remained fully so. With them we have nothing to do. They are dead or dying out of old age. Some few are permanently settled and are large farmers, and prosperous. "Buffalo William" is an example of that class and almost an isolated one. Then came the "Pioneers" who had to buy their land and pay for it. They were and are "good stuff." They are the successful men of their respective states to-day. Then came the curse of the west, the sympathetic and illogical cry that "Uncle Sam has land enough to give us all a farm," and the enormous land-grants to railroads, which by them and speculators were taken up and the "prairies of boundless fertility"—that is all they did have, the "boundlessness" being the most marked characteristic—were "boomed" amid all peoples and in all languages. We will not discuss the railroad question now; suffice it to say the roads are built and will eventually make up for the harm they did. At about the same time the "Homestead laws" were enacted by which, if I am not mistaken, a person could obtain 160 acres "of the best land in God's creation" for the cost of surveying, about \$13, if he lived on it six months a year for six years. That certainly was getting land at even cheaper rates than the land nationalization would give it to any one. Then why all this outcry?

The whole truth was never told by the railroad and other real estate boomers. They only wanted to sell land at almost any price at that time. As the protectionist howls Americanism for himself, so did the land speculator set the people crazy for himself. There was then and

still is the insane idea among the people that "America must be a great nation numerically." The idea that a qualitative great nation could be a possibility never entered the minds of a people who swore—theoretically—that "God made all men equal," but whose very acts have demonstrated that Munchausen never uttered a bigger fable. The bitter disadvantages of the "glorious west" were never told. They have only been discovered by costly experience. The land was there and that was about all there was there. There was no lumber to build houses from, so that, like "prairie dogs," the earlier settlers had to live in holes dug in the side-hills, or built sod-houses; a proceeding by no means antiquated. There were no small water-courses, and only a few large streams. Wells could scarcely be dug so deep down was the water; and only by driven or bored wells and wind-mills can farming be properly pursued. There was not wood enough even for fuel, and as for coal and other minerals, and even salt, they were not there; and are not now. As "Gold" is useless to a starving man where food cannot be purchased, so the best of land under such conditions offered, for the time, an incomparably more unfavorable environment than the "stone-clad" hills of New England. The western farmer, at first settlement, can only be compared to a shipwrecked sailor alone in a boat on the trackless sea. Instead of water it is land, land all around and neither good water to drink, fish to eat nor trees to shade one. Fires were made of "buffalo chips."

All these things did not trouble the "boomers" so long as there "was a dollar in it" for them. In every country and among every people there is a large contingent of society which is "so ill-bred" as to be naturally shiftless and consequently discontented. They are always placing the blame for their unfortunate condition on their surroundings, or some one else. They are the "migratory birds" of human society. They have none of the essentials of "home pigeons." Such unfortunates represent their kindred on the outside of the herds in the wilds of nature. They are found on the confines of civilization. They have not half the natural "cuteness" of the people in our city slums. The states east of the Mississippi were full of such homeless or shiftless humans at the time of

the first migration to the "far west." The "western boom" struck, and hit them hard, sweeping them in their "prairie schooners" as storm-tossed birds, in flocks over the broad and almost treeless wastes. They generally had little to leave, and took but little with them. They brought as little to the "land of promise" as it offered them. They had but few utensils, no building-material, a few poor horses and a cow or two, and invariably a dog as ill-bred as themselves. Like the prairie dogs, they had to burrow before the storms of winter caught them. They settled, they "homesteaded," and as necessity creates want, they wanted money. The next migration was of a different kind. It was smaller numerically, but what it lacked in numbers it made up in the very worst kind of that natural individualism which cares for nobody. The money shark came, accompanied by his natural pilot fish, the lawyer. Just as soon as the farmers (?) had settled long enough or had "proven their claim," or even before, they began to borrow at the most ruinous rates of interest. They mortgaged their land to buy implements and build a house, then they mortgaged the house to buy stock. Next they mortgaged the stock to pay their interest and so they have continued. They were shiftless to start with, and their most discouraging environment only made them more so. They at once began to look around in hopes some more fortunate one would come along with capital enough to assume their mortgages, pay the back-interest, take the most of their stock off their hands and give them a little money to "move on" to cheaper lands. The hungry hordes which lately invaded Oklahoma and the Cherokee strip represent the most shiftless of this class: those who had not the might to hold on even where they were. Thousands of others are still hanging on and waiting for the man with more money, simply because the shark does not care to eject them. He has had his principal repaid in many cases in interest years ago, so that to him a fraction of a loaf is now all gain.

But the boom spread over the waters, and the discontented of Europe looked with longing eyes to that "free land" where there was no king and no nobility and "land could be had for the asking." They never stopped to

think that there was nothing "American" here but the land: that humanity is the same all the world over; that the laws are about the same; that while there were heredity lords in Europe that there were also laws of heredity which enabled men "bred to win" to be "lords of the manor" no matter where they were. They never knew that humanity is the same under the same degrees of civilization no matter where it may be. They forgot that laws do not make men but men laws. They came in thousands! In all cases they were better off than the "poh-white trash" of "American" origin. But they too were deceived and deceived themselves. The new environment with its treeless waste and no water or coal, was so different to the "Vaterland." There were many strong among them, those who left for political reasons more than any other, and brought means with them. Through trial and tribulation they have become prosperous by their own might. But there were many who, while comfortably off at home, could not survive well under the new and strange conditions. Others who did not understand how to husband their means, and many who have fluttered along the waysides, stopping here and there, but staying nowhere. Among them are hundreds who would be men and women anywhere, because they were born such. These too have felt the shark's fangs and been waylaid by the pilot-fish lawyers. The leopard cannot change his spots nor the skunk its odor; so with humanity. The majority of those Europeans who were unsuccessful at home and discontented because of it, and who placed the blame on the laws of their native land were no better off here. They never thought to look for the cause in themselves! Had not the same theology taught them to worship the same fetich, and in this country had not the law told them, and had not the agent told them "that all men are born equal?" This class have naturally joined in with disgruntled Americans. "It's all in the laws and because of the capitalist." As most of these agricultural revolutionists are blind followers of the theological fetich, it would be well if they would call to mind the fact, that it is not the "laws" or the "capitalists" which are at fault, but that God whom they ignorantly serve, who "only helps those who help them-

selves." In rebelling and trying to help themselves they are wise, but they "are a rebellious and stiff-necked people." They should pray, and not "kick." They little think that they voluntarily put their necks in the jaws of the shark even if their necessities did compel it. The eastern capitalist need not think that the western "revolution" is entirely directed at him. These people look on their own prosperous citizens about as they did on the "lords" at home. The "spirit of the times" has caused them to look with jealous dislike on all men who have succeeded. To these farmers we must add a very large contingent known as the old-soldier element, which in general is made up of well-bred material and successful. It is not generally in the uprising. They can do even better by voting the republican ticket and joining the pension-grabbers. Again there is a goodly contingent of men who went west with their eyes open, from eastern states, bound to succeed and have. They have not, "risen," because they are rising of their own might. They are republicans or democrats because their fathers were. Political slaves! The spirit of dislike against eastern capitalists has been fed by a small army of "our editors" in the west who have been and are in the hands of politicians, and have engendered a feeling of jealousy and contemptible hatred towards the people of the "effete east" that is fully as dangerous and more utterly groundless than the dislike which the South had for the North previous to the war. This condition has been well shown in the unprincipled demands of the silverites. Singularly, the majority of these editors are in the republican fold, which now represents that "effete" Know-nothingism "America for Americans."

The severe environment of the west, the scarcity of lumber and distance from refinement, and above all the example of the unthrifty "first settlers" has given to the whole agricultural community a general character of shiftlessness. A well-kept farmyard is as rare in the west as an ill-kept one is in New England. Stock is not cared for as it should be, and is only fed at a tremendous waste of raw-material. Few farmers have suitable places to preserve the grain crop.

The story of the west is shiftlessness, the story of New England is thrift.

To go further. We have spoken of the manner in which the New England farmer of the past made and raised nearly all he used on the farm. It is a sure thing that if it were possible, under present conditions, for people to be as self-dependent as they were one hundred years since, and had the same indomitable energy, that the history of the New England farmer could be repeated. No one would care to try. We want too much luxury. The westerner does nothing of the kind. He has not the sheep, and his own wits are so much engaged in "wool gathering" for a customer to buy him out that he would scarcely take the necessary care of them. He makes nothing, and seldom repairs anything. I have never seen a western farm with its carpenter and repair shop as was and still is the usual custom in New England. (I do not mean the large farms of wealthy men in the west.) The westerner more often goes without the luxury of fresh vegetables rather than take care of a vegetable garden. His house is homeless. Barrenness will not half describe it. His children have the modern craze and instead of desiring to continue on the farm—for which they are not much to blame—they seek the State Universities of the west, where they get a smattering of much and little of anything substantial, but do get their wits sharpened and thereafter seek to live by them. It is the same with the girls as with the boys. They hate and detest a farm life. There is very little of the Anglo-Saxon "home" in the west. It fails both as a life and sentiment. The majority of the people are still "birds of passage." It takes generally three migrations of settlers to bring a permanent class into a western community. The western farmer's market is at a distance. The price of his products being more often really fixed in Liverpool than at home. He gets what he may after every one else has gotten what they could of the profits between him and his distant market. For his clothing and daily necessities he depends largely on barter for the immediate small farm-products, eggs, butter and chickens, and has a running account at the highest prices and tallest interest at the "general store" of his post-office town. Pluck-me shops are not always the property of capitalistic monopolies. There is one other evil he suffers under which the New Englander did not. Everything the

westerner has is taxed, except the air he breathes, for state improvements and to keep politicians alive; and more, in which our single taxers are right, he has to pay taxes to protect the title and property of wealthy land investors who, like the lilies of the valley, "toil not, neither do they spin," that is, neither work their lands nor pay their proportionate share of the taxes. One thing more, and I am done with the westerner. He bonds himself to death for public improvements and gives away his franchise in hopes to sell out and experiment again. He spends as much time in the town looking for some one to buy him out as he does working his farm to pay his interest. He is not an agriculturalist. He is a land-speculator by profession and a farmer only so far as living and interest-paying force him to be. Naturally, the more prosperous are working out of this condition, but in general the westerner has only enthusiasm for two things. He is politically and theologically mad. He is ignorant and the product of ignorance. He has two fetiches. He looks for his salvation on earth to politics and politicians and the law or laws he shall make, and to the church for post-mortal salvation. He is the victim of sharks of all kinds, the land shark, the money shark, the legal shark, the political shark and the theological shark. But he "is rising." He has risen in part from his lethargy. The trouble with him is he is blaming some one else, the laws of the land, anything, but himself, and the theological lies which misled him. If he would only see that, he would be successful much quicker. Thus far in his up-rising he has been the victim of the political shark which has drifted into his waters from the turbulent sea of the old parties, that for various reasons had become "too hot" for him.

Some may think that this is an overdrawn picture; or, that the writer is prejudiced because of his New England ancestry. That is not so! The study of humanity is a science, and those who devote themselves to it must be without prejudice. The true scientist should know no country, no race, and but one humanity. If true to himself the results of his work must be of general benefit. If the western farmer would really improve his condition he must begin with himself. He can do nothing better

than intellectually "ruminate" over the New Englander whom he professes to despise. He must begin with the economical study of the principles of self-preservation and of thrift and cleanliness. He must make his home pleasanter and not fill it with children so rapidly that there is no home left for them. He should educate them, but as he believes in law, and has his say in the law-makers, he should see that the state public schools educate his children in the practical principles of life and living, and not stuff them full of the indigestible nonsense of tradition, either of theological or political imbecility. He should cast adrift from "Looking Backward" except to see his own errors. He should look at himself and then "go ahead," being sure he is right.

It has been said that our foreign immigration is misled and disappointed in the conditions they find here. They think themselves in a sort of slavery at home, and soon find the same chains encircling their limbs here. Though promised that "Uncle Sam has land enough to give them all a farm" they find themselves in about the same position of the rich man who leaves a family of sons a liberal heritage. They are not all to the "manor born." Those who have not the ability to make the most of their heritage soon lose it, and those who have show that the biblical saying is prophetically true, "To him who hath much will be given, but to him who hath not even what he hath will be taken away." That is a beautiful expression of the results of natural individualism. Another from the same source which the western farmer can take to himself is, before seeking to remove the mote (by law) out of the eye of the capitalist he should take out the beam of egotistical and theological ignorance from his own, and see that the fault lies in his own inability and not in the ability of the "other fellow." He should build himself up and not seek to pull those down who can still be of use to him if he knows how to use them wisely.

I think I have shown the folly of Mr. Wallace's comparisons. In some things he speaks wisely, and in others foolishly. For instance he truly says of our government:

"The once familiar term 'republican simplicity' is now an unmeaning one, since both in France and in America there is an amount of wealth and luxury not

surpassed in any of the old monarchies. Yet it serves to show us the ideal which the founders of republics fondly hoped to attain. They aimed at abolishing forever, not only the rank and titles of hereditary nobility, but also those vast differences of wealth and social grade which were supposed to depend upon monarchical government. Their objects were to secure, not only political and religious freedom, but also an approximate equality of social conditions; or, at the very least, an adequate share of the comforts and enjoyments of life for every industrious citizen. Yet after a century of unprecedented growth, and the utilization of the natural riches of a great continent, we find to-day, in all the great cities of the United States, thousands and tens of thousands who by constant toil cannot secure necessities and comforts for their children or make any provision for an old age of peaceful repose. One great object of republican institutions has, it is clear, not been attained. Let us now endeavor to form some idea of the extent and nature of the disease of the social organism, so as more effectually to provide the true remedy.

"In his 'Social Problems' (written in 1883) Henry George thus refers to the condition of one of the richest states of the Union, Illinois: 'In their last report the Illinois Commissioners of Labor Statistics say that their tables of wages and cost of living are representative only of intelligent working men who make the most of their advantages, and do not reach "the confines of that world of helpless ignorance and destitution in which multitudes in all large cities continually live, and whose only statistics are those of epidemics, pauperism, and crime." Nevertheless, they go on to say, an examination of these tables will demonstrate that one-half of these intelligent working men of Illinois "are not even able to earn enough for their daily bread, and have to depend upon the labor of women and children to eke out their miserable existence." (The success of the New England farmer lies in the fact that the family worked. Our "upper artizan's" family is often above work.)

"Let it be clearly understood that I do not in any way imply that republicanism is itself the cause of this state of things. It simply exists in spite of republicanism, and

serves to demonstrate the great truth that systems of government are in themselves powerless to abolish poverty. The startling, and at first sight depressing, fact that grinding poverty dogs the footsteps of civilization under all forms of government alike, is really, from one point of view, a hopeful circumstance, since it assures us that the source of the evil is one that is common alike to republic, constitutional monarchy, and despotism, and we are thus taught where not to look for the remedy. We find it prevailing where militarism is at a maximum, as in France, Italy and Germany, and where it is at a minimum, as in the United States. It is quite as bad in thinly as in thickly populated countries; but the one thing that it always accompanies is CAPITALISM. Wherever wealth accumulates most rapidly in the hands of private capitalists, there—notwithstanding the most favorable conditions, such as general education, free institutions, a fertile soil, and the fullest use of labor-saving machinery—poverty not only persists but increases. We must therefore look for the source of the evil in something that favors the accumulation of individual wealth.

“Now, great wealth is obtained by individuals in two ways: either by speculation, which is but a form of gambling and perhaps the very worst form, since it impoverishes, not a few fellow-gamblers only, but the whole community; or by large industrial enterprises, and these depend for their success on the existence of great bodies of laborers who have no means of living except by wage labor, and are thus absolutely dependent on employment by capitalists in order to sustain life, and are compelled in the last resort to accept such wages as the capitalists choose to give. The result of these conditions is very low wages, or if nominally higher wages, then intermittent work: and thus we find in all great cities—in New York, Chicago, London, Vienna, for example, in this winter of 1892–93—tens of thousands of men out of work, and either partially supported by charity or undergoing slow starvation.

“I propose to show that these terrible phenomena pervading all modern civilization alike,—speculation, capitalism, compulsory idleness of those willing to labor, women and children starving or killed by overwork, all

arise as the natural consequences and direct result of private property and consequent monopoly in land.

"We must always remember that the existence of large numbers of laborers, which is at once the indication and measure of poverty, is a purely artificial phenomenon.

"There is no surplus as regards land and natural products waiting to be transmuted by labor into various forms of wealth: there is no surplus as regards demands for this wealth by those in want of the necessities of life, and who only ask to be allowed to call those necessities into existence by their labor. The only surplus is a surplus as regards demand for laborers by capitalists, a surplus which owes its existence to artificial conditions which are fundamentally wrong. It is not a natural, but a man-created surplus, and all the want and misery and crime that spring from it is equally man-created and altogether unnatural and unnecessary."

I cannot withhold expressing my astonishment that a man who has given such magnificent contributions to biological science as Mr. Wallace should write that "the large number of laborers, which is at once the indication and measure of poverty, is a purely artificial phenomenon." Such an assertion is more ridiculous than Malthus' theory, that the world is getting too densely populated. If the theological fetich of the equality of man could be overruled and the world populated with individualistic people bred with the might to can, it could never be overpopulated unless unfavorable cataclysmatic changes in its surface take place. The ignorant numerical increase of the laboring classes with no improvement in their ability to take care of themselves; the effects of the speculative principle that "Uncle Sam has land enough for all;" and the various inducements to bring a cheap class of people to this country may be "artificial phenomena," but they are of a realistic character, which indicates that the laborer himself has far more to do with the conditions in which he finds himself than the capitalists for whom he himself prepares the field of cheap labor. I may be wrong, and I certainly would not be unjust, but I know, and her priests know it, that the Roman church has been losing in the second and third generations of American-born Irish catholics more than it has gained

in Irish immigration, and I think that one of the chief stimuli to Italian and French Canadian immigration is to be sought in that church. The Italian government is also probably active in "shunting" its low-breds on us. In stimulating or encouraging this immigration the Roman church is on a level with those capitalists, who introduce "pauper labor" from Europe. They are digging the graves of those already here, who are themselves filling them with their senseless production of children. No adherent of the Roman church need take me as its special enemy, for I am not, any more than I am opposed to the churches as the common enemy of intelligence, and the theological fetich in any shape. I look on the Roman church as a very essential element to offset the secret but pestiferous despotism of orthodox and semi-liberal Protestantism and to keep the "gates ajar" for the truths of science to enter the minds of the people.

On the land question Mr. Wallace continues :

"Our land system is the fundamental cause of the persistent misery and poverty of the workers: root and branch it is wholly evil; its fruits are deadly poison; cut it down, why cumbereth the ground.

"In the first place we have demonstrated that a permanently successful agriculture, in which the food producer shall be sure of an adequate reward for his labor, is absolutely impossible without national or state ownership of the soil, so as to insure the farmer undisturbed occupation, at a low but equitably graded rent.

"It is equally clear, in the second place, that the condition of the great body of industrial workers can only be improved permanently by giving them free access to the land,—the primary source of all food and wealth in the form of cottage-homesteads around all cities, towns and villages.

"The workers in America, like those of Great Britain, have the future in their own hands. They have the majority of the votes, and can return representatives to their bidding. Let them turn their whole attention to the one point,—of rescuing the land from the hands of monopolists and speculators. In this direction only lies the way out of the terrible social quagmire in which we are now floundering."

This last passage is a staggerer to me coming from the source it does. In reality it is anarchistic, pure and simple. What would the man advise the wage-earners to do, could they elect enough of their men to revolutionize natural ability, which, fortunately, they cannot? Would he advise them to abrogate the "rights to property" at one fell stroke? Certainly that is what he advocates! Johann Most has not done much more than that! The only difference being, he advises taking it any way and if it cannot be gotten to destroy it. Mr. Wallace's advice, if attempted, would lead to the same result, or mutual destruction, and if "brains win" the wage-earners would get the worst of it. Justice means that those who can get up should have a fair chance according to their abilities. It does not mean that those who cannot win shall be made to by process of law. How long would they keep up?

THE NATURAL RIGHT TO LAND.

The land-nationalizationists, so far as I know in their writings, do not deny the right of any one to what he makes out of the land by his own abilities, in fact, they agree that the products of labor, and the products of labor all depend on individual ability which includes intellectual, should not be taxed in which I agree with them if we can find ways of reducing the expenses of government and a just way of avoiding it. This is the particular charm in the theories of these altruists. It is a fetich, however. It is an argument which logically kills itself. How does a man make anything with his labor but by his own abilities? If he has a right to the free use of those abilities in one direction, why not in another? But, "that is begging the question," says the other side. Did not God first create the land and the sea and all that on or in them is, and did he not do it for man and then give it to him? To that I answer, as I have again and again, that all natural facts flatly contradict it. Individualism contradicts it, and, as I shall show, true socialism does also. It was the discovery of the latter fact which led me to "bout ship" and take a more logical, if less favorable appearing course to the unfortunate. The natural right to property depends on the might to obtain and maintain

it. I willingly concede the right on that basis. But there is another side to this question, and that is protection in the right of maintenance. Where did that come from? Did it not come that the maintenance of possession by individual might alone became so disturbing and dangerous to the well-being of all that families or communes, then tribes, then nations, mutually united in maintaining or conceding to each individual his right to nature under certain legal conditions under which it had come into his possession. Thus far in the world's history socialism has conceded to individualism the right to real property. This country not only conceded it but by every means in its power incited people to come and take their "natural rights" on the most reasonable terms. The fathers made a great mistake. If God gave them the property, they were the most fearful spendthrifts this world has ever known. But did God give it to them? Were they the first inhabitants? Has not every foot of land now owned by white men in this country been taken by their might? Has it not been, in fact, stolen, at the cost of every principle which we are taught is honorable, from the Indians? What right have we here save that of might?

There is still another side to this question. The might may be so extended as to be dangerous to the welfare of the whole! We are approaching that condition. Unlimited individualism has become too dangerously aggressive. It has taken more than it can use and is allowed (by the rest of us), to retain and do nothing with it and is not taxed in proportion to others, where it receives the same protection to its rights. The rights of property are no longer maintained by the might of the individual. Socialism has assumed that duty for him. It is singular that when attaining these people are individualists, afterwards they look to the might of the people to maintain them. But what does unlimited individualism do? Is it content with that? It is over-protective. It tries in every way possible to grasp all creation at the expense of socialism, and evades paying its share of the expenses for its own protection. With regard to agricultural districts this injustice is far more apparent than in the business sections of our cities. It is still more manifest in the west than the east. The greatest injustice which

individualism has worked is in the lesser and even nominal taxation it has caused to be put on vacant lands which it holds and does nothing with in large amounts, for a rise; while poor neighbors, who purchase small lots in the vicinity, and whose settlement and work make the large holder's holdings more valuable day by day, have to pay the larger portion of his taxes and their own too for the protection of the rights of each. It is the large amounts of unused nature which rich men are holding for other people to make more valuable (speculation) that called attention to this evil. I do not for a moment question the right of any man to do this if he can, and as long as he can.

The question is, are the rest of us just to ourselves to permit it? Let us apply individualism itself to this question and ask how long could any man, or any limited association of men, maintain that right if socialism had not placed the might of the whole, as law, to enable them to do so? Not one hour longer than a greater might did not desire it? In point of fact, however, socialism has never given to any man the legal right it appears to have. It has simply allowed itself to be overmastered by ability. As said, those having the ability have made the laws to maintain themselves, and it is right they should so long as they can. We have the expressive term of "a hog" to indicate that degree of individualism which appropriates and seeks to hold more than it can use. It is exactly where and when his porcineness commences to develop that socialism must step in and nip it in the bud. It is justice. Socialism is the greatest of all rights. It is the intelligence of the whole individualized in the interests of the whole.

The population of the world has become too dense to longer allow any man to hold one foot of nature for speculative purposes, without paying equally for the protection to those who hold it for direct labor. We cannot take it away from him as a thief in the night, for socialism must ever aim at ideal justice. What then can be done? It was at this point that I stopped and saw the injustice of the land-nationalization scheme. As can be seen, I fully agree with these people that something is wrong, and in some respects we agree upon the wrong, but when it

come to the cure, we entirely disagree. The whole history of the world, the history of the west, and the comparison with early New England made by Mr. Wallace all shows that there are hundreds of thousands of people to whom 160 acres of land might be given free and untaxable, buildings and stock given them and that they would not have the ability to maintain their ownership of it for any serious length of time. The history of inherited wealth, about which so much is being said, by some people, when not restricted by right of primogeniture, or trusteeship, shows the same thing. The might to maintain is wanting in both cases. Let me say that I have exactly the same sentiment for the rich do-nothing spendthrift as I have for the shiftless farmer or wage-earner. They are both ill-bred. The conditions under which they started were different! That is all! They are both bad examples of the ignorance of the human family in the art of breeding up. These land-nationalizationists claim they are not "socialists" (I use the word in the generally accepted sense this time). If they are not I do not know what they are. They are like most social reformers. They would level the world down instead of up.

How would they nationalize the land?

Mr. Wallace says that wage-earners should elect their men and do it by law. Mr. George would go slower and educate people to cut their own throats. An impossibility! If done in Mr. Wallace's way, it could only be by universal conscription. He would not even take it by the right of eminent domain. He would take it by law and that ends it. That would be making the state a thief. The state cannot buy it. There is too much of it. Even the advocates of the nationalization of railroads and other such general systems (of which I am one), all believe that the people, government, should pay their present owners a just price for them. Let me recall a case from our juvenile days. The story of Robinson Crusoe which has been used before. We will assume, as the story relates, that his island was uninhabited. We will assume that Mr. Robinson was a land-nationalizationist and an altruist. His island is just about large enough to maintain him alone. He is the only man there. Now comes along Mr. Wallace, and two or three more, of the same way

of thinking, and suddenly settle on the island. The followers of Mr. George's school would tell us, that "God made that island especially to save Mr. Robinson, and that it was an act of his loving providence that he was thrown there when shipwrecked." Mr. Wallace and his friends were not shipwrecked. They were simply a band of reformers, who, being unable to turn the world their way, left it to seek a home where they could do as they pleased, like our Pilgrim fathers. They land on the island in the night. The next morning Mr. Robinson wakes up and is much disturbed to find them there. However, he is a gentleman, and perhaps thinking they are unfortunate castaways like himself, he walks over to extend to them his hospitalities, and is much surprised to find quite a comfortable looking vessel anchored near by. Well, they sit down and have a chat, and are mutually delighted to find they are all land-nationalizationists. The new arrivals stay on. They commence to use up the slender supply of natural provisions of the island to such an extent as to alarm Mr. Robinson, who kindly tells them, "God made the island for him and miraculously saved his life and gave it to him." The others look in wonder at him and say, "Why, man, you are mistaken; God made not only this island but the whole world for all men, you, us, and the rest of mankind." "But God sent me here first," says Mr. Robinson, "and you have a nice vessel, while I have no means of getting away and don't know where to go." The island not being large enough for all of them, Mr. Wallace and his friends have a theological discussion on the "rights of man," and decide "that Mr. Robinson is only an obstinate fellow; this is a mighty pretty island, and with our vessel we can catch fish and make trips to the mainland. We might as well give him a boat and some provisions and tell him the main land lies so and so, he would be much better off over there." But Mr. Robinson insists on his "God-given rights" with the natural result when superstition and human necessity come into conflict, "might prevails" and "God and his rights" are ignored. Mr. Robinson is either banished or killed, simply because he had not the might to maintain his right. Had he been the subject of some neighboring country, and escaped to it, then socialism might have

stepped in and restored to him his "natural right" as the first possessor of the island. Had the island been unduly large and sufficient to support the entire company, Mr. Wallace and his friends might have been justified in letting Mr. Robinson go, and might, if they chose, have exercised their greater might, and taken what they considered necessary, but would it have been right? Had not Mr. Robinson a prior claim? Should they not have given him a just remuneration for what they wanted? Mr. Wallace evidently says, "No." If that is land-nationalization, then I cannot see where its advocates would not be bigger thieves than the "monopolists" they are condemning.

But there is the vital question in this "real estate," business which has been previously alluded to, and which these "single taxers" justly make a good deal of discussion over, and which is causing a great deal of trouble in the world. That is the purchasing of more land, be it farm land or mineral land or forest, than a man has use for, and holding it for a rise and not paying the taxes for the protection of their "right," in correspondence with exactly the same kind of land in use by other parties, or even by themselves.

In this case I even admit the right of the ability to purchase the land, but I do not admit the justice of the conditions under which they hold it, and do nothing with it, while it rises constantly in value on account of the work of others. The whole community pays taxes to maintain them in their rights, but the major part of the taxes are paid by the direct products of labor, whereas there is no labor done on such property.

That business must be stopped, but not by confiscation or robbing people of their property, which is, to them, just as much a product of their labor as the money used to purchase it with was a product of their labor, and also the product of other labor. In that sense the land as held, represents the product of labor, as much as a house or anything else. These theorists would kill out every particle of natural ability in the race if their plan of equalization could be carried out.

In support of his theory Mr. Wallace gives the following illogical examples;—

"Experience in every part of the world shows that this moral effect is one of the greatest advantages of securing to the mass of people homesteads of their very own. As this aspect of the question is hardly ever discussed in America, a few illustrative examples must be given.

"And first as to the profits of small farms as compared with large ones. Lord Carrington has eight hundred tenants of small plots of land around the town of High Wycombe, Bucks, and he has recently stated that these tenants get a net produce of forty pounds an acre, while the most that the farmers can obtain from the same land by plough cultivation is seven pounds an acre. Here is a gain to the country of thirty-three pounds an acre by peasant cultivation; and it is all clear gain, for these men are wage-laborers, and their little plots of land are cultivated by themselves and their families in time that would otherwise be wasted.

"Another case is that of the Rev. Mr. Tuckwell of Stockton, Warwickshire, who has let two hundred acres of land to laborers in plots of from one to four acres, at fair rents, and with security for fourteen years. Most of the men with two acres grow enough wheat and potatoes to supply their families for the whole year, besides providing food for a pig, and all this by utilizing the spare time of the family. These men grow forty bushels of wheat to the acre, the farmer's average being less than thirty; and their other crops are good in proportion.

Still more interesting is the Wellingborough Allotment Association in Northamptonshire, where two hundred and twenty-three men rent and occupy a farm of one hundred and eighty-four acres at three hundred pounds a year rent, though the land is rather poor. It is divided into plots from one eighth of an acre to six acres, the occupiers being various wage-workers, small tradesmen, mechanics, and comparatively few farm laborers. The farm was visited by Mr. Impey, who states that it was excellently cultivated, and that the wheat averaged forty-eight bushels an acre,—nearly twice the average of Great Britain,—while one man got fifty-six bushels an acre from two and one-fourth acres. When this farm was let to a farmer, four men on the average were employed on it; now an amount of work equal to that of forty men is expended on it, and a con-

siderable portion of the work is done during time that would otherwise be wasted.

"The reports issued by the last Royal Commission on Agriculture in 1882 give numerous similar illustrations, showing that in periods of agricultural distress, when large farmers were being ruined, and small farmers who cultivated the land themselves were prosperous. Thus Mr. F. Winn Knight, M. P., of Exmoor, Devonshire, had sixteen tenants paying rents from thirteen pounds up to two hundred pounds a year, all being paid regularly to the last shilling, and every one of these men had been agricultural laborers. More remarkable is the case of Penstrasse Moor in Cornwall, a barren, sandy waste, which neither landlord nor tenant farmer thought worth cultivation. Yet five hundred acres of this waste have been inclosed and reclaimed by miners, mechanics, and other laborers, on the security of leases for three lives at a low rent. This land now carries more stock than any of the surrounding farms, and the total produce is estimated by the assistant commissioner, Mr. Little, at nearly twice the average of the county.

"These moral effects of these cure tenure of land in small farms or cottage homesteads have been observed by politicians, travelers and moralists wherever the system prevails. Thus William Howitt, in his *'Rural and Domestic Life of Germany,'* says: 'The German peasants work hard, but they have no actual want. Every man has his house, his orchard, his roadside-trees, commonly so heavy with fruit that he is obliged to prop and secure them or they would be torn to pieces. He has his corn plot, his plots for mangold-wurzel, for hemp, and so forth. He is his own master, and he and every member of his family have the strongest motives to labor. You see the effects of this in that unremitting diligence which is beyond that of the whole world besides, and his economy, which is still greater. . . . The German bauer looks on the country as made for him and his fellow-men. He feels himself a man; he has a stake in the country as good as that of the bulk of his neighbors; no man can threaten him with ejection or the work-house so long as he is active and economical. He walks, therefore, with a bold step; he looks you in

the face with the air of a free man, but a respectful air.'

"That admirable historian and novelist, Mr. Baring Gould, confirms this. Writing at a much later period, he says in his 'Germany, Past and Present': 'The artisan is restless and dissatisfied. He is mechanized. He finds no interest in his work, and his soul frets at the routine. He is miserable, and he knows not why. But the man who toils on his own plot of ground is morally and physically healthy. He is a freeman; the sense he has of independence gives him his upright carriage, his fearless brow, and his joyous laugh.'"

It will be observed at once that he has left the question of land-nationalization and gone over to that of "cheap homesteads," and not such on purchased land even, but on rented land. While no one can dispute the value of any movement which can inspire the wage-earners to acquiring a home, and many men have studied how and aided them to do so, it is evident from Mr. Wallace's cases, that the landlord has much the best end of the bargain no matter if his rents are low. How long the landlords will allow those tenants to remain "on the barren sandy wastes" which they have made into gardens, after the present agreement for "three lives" expires remains to be seen. It undoubtedly is advantageous for the renters at present and will continue to be in the future, but looks as if it were equally so for the landlords. To compare the thrifty German peasant with the shiftless western farmer or wage-earner is as ridiculous as to compare them with the New Englander of the last century. But there is a factor in these English cases which Mr. Wallace does not make apparent, and that is the interest and advice and probably some financial aid from the landlords themselves, which undoubtedly contributes much to the success of the wage-earners he mentions. The world is full of men that make splendid success when the responsibility of looking out for themselves is taken from them. The responsibility to others seems to give them just the stimulus they lacked on their own account. In this regard I copy the following suggestive article from one of the leading and most solid agricultural papers of the west:

“THE INCREASE OF TENANT FARMERS IN THE WEST.”¹

“All political economists are agreed that the ideal state of agriculture is when every farmer owns his own farm. In neighborhoods, counties and states where this state of things exists there is always prosperity. There is no dispute between the landlord and tenant. Every improvement is made on the farm by the owner and of which he receives the entire benefit. There is no complaint of landlordism and in such communities land always sells high. Notwithstanding this, tenantry and landlordism are increasing even in the west where lands are cheap comparatively, and where one would suppose every man might be able to own his own farm. There are indications not a few that tenants will increase in number, involving a corresponding increase of landlords, and while there is no danger of a landlord system, such as prevails in many countries of the Old World, and which is probably realized in Ireland more fully than elsewhere, there is danger that a large per cent. of the farms, even in the west, will, in the future, be tilled by tenants and the proceeds divided between the tenant and the landlord. Nor do we see any way in which it can be avoided except by the resolute determination of every farmer to own his own land, and by a system of economy, careful study and untiring energy, to secure a home of his own.

“Until within the last year or two the question with a large number of men has been how to obtain a farm. At first sight it seemed to be easy, viz. : to homestead or to purchase of the government at \$1.25 per acre. To do this, however, involved going to the frontier and attempting to farm under new conditions and in countries and climates where past experience in farming was of little value. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that many of these attempts proved failures, and that in many cases the homestead was abandoned or sold for a song.

“The question hereafter will be, not how to obtain a farm, but how to hold it; and whether a farmer can hold his farm will depend largely on whether he can make more money on it than some other man can. There are a large number of men in all our cities who are farm-born,

¹ “Iowa Homestead,”

who have accumulated money in trade and business, and who naturally, enough, have a consuming desire to own a farm of their own. They have not forgotten the pleasures of rural life, and although they may have left their home disgusted with farming, they are never satisfied until they get back to the farm.

"Our attention has been called quite recently to instances where men of this class have bought farms which their owners could no longer hold, and these not altogether in the newer sections of the country, but the older. Singularly enough these men have found the farm the most profitable investment for their money. It will usually be found in such cases that men of this class are also students of agriculture. They take the best agricultural papers, study all the principles of live-stock breeding, keep an eye on the markets, and in some cases can buy a farm of its former owner, and make \$2 where he made \$1, and sometimes enable the renter to make more for himself than when he was its owner. There are some men so constituted that they work much better under the direction of another; they are hard workers, honest, industrious, but are not managers. Possibly they lack capital. At any rate, they fail, and yet strangely enough succeed even as tenants when under the direction of a judicious, careful, honest landlord. In this we are simply stating facts that have come under our own personal observation, and it gives point to the suggestion made above, that if a man wishes to retain his farm, he must keep up with the times. He cannot be expected to farm according to the methods of ten, twenty or thirty years ago. Farming is a progressive science and art, and the man who understands its laws most perfectly, and is the most skilled in applying them, is the man who will always go to the front. The man who fails to do this is in danger of being compelled in the course of a few years to become a tenant. A tenant involves a landlord, and the landlord system, however necessary and unavoidable under certain circumstances it may be, is not the ideal condition for any country.

But "what are you going to do about it?" "What are we here for?" as Flanagan of Texas said, regarding the political plunder. We are not here for anything. We

did not ask to come into this world. We are here as the accidents of lust following out the instincts of animal nature. Being here we must live. According to our intelligence we feel the responsibility of looking out for ourselves. One of the best ways we can do that is to look out for the other fellow a little at the same time. The other fellow is becoming dangerous. Socialism must say that no man shall appropriate more of natural resources than he can himself make immediate use of, unless he pays equally for the protection of his "rights" to what other people do for real property of the same nature and equally situated.

That seems eminently just. The speculator in real property can exist no longer and take the benefits of other people's labor, and do little or nothing himself. He pays an equal share with every one else for protection of his "rights." If he does not want to be just, he can sell out. If he refuses to (the tax-title purchase should be made impossible), his property should than be forfeited to the state, which could sell or lease it to the highest bidder for a term of years, he to pay the usual taxes as other people do, all property erected thereon to be his, as well as all products of his labor on or in said property.

There are to-day a great many privileges in the country which belong to the people as a whole, out of which a large income could be had by leasing them under specific conditions, like fishing rights in lakes and all gunning rights on government property, etc. The government could, at the same time, regulate the amount of the privilege rented and thus save much of our natural food supply.

The above plan would soon throw much of the speculatively held mining, forest or agricultural land either into the market or use, and work injustice to no one, and at the same time offer opportunities to men of small means to obtain it and increase the opportunities for labor.

Not all the legislation in the world can make a philosopher out of an idiot, or a Jay Gould out of an ordinary wage-earner, or an Edison out of a common mechanic. Of all things the human race cannot stamp out ability where it does exist. Socialism can regulate unjust action, but its chief interest is in leading men by education to

breed themselves up so that their posterity must win by their natural abilities. The precept of socialism should be "An ill-bred man is unfit for the kingdom of earth." If there is any place for such, let theology take care of him. Nature never will! The land-nationalizationists may be able to. If they can they will be greater than the God whom they claim made all men equal, and for whom everything was created, share and share alike.

A CHRISTIAN RUMSELLER.

With the exception of the general question of education, there is no more vital one for the public to consider than that advocated by the so-called "prohibitionists." The use of alcohol in any form whatever as a beverage, outside its technical use in the arts and sciences, may be considered one of the most dangerous of the evils with which an intelligent socialism has to contend. No other question more aptly illustrates the relation of individualism to the rights and wrongs of society. There most opportunely came to hand a very suggestive article in *The Arena* of July (1893) which bears the striking title of "Christ and the Liquor Problem." The communication is by one of those singularly phenomenal theological monstrosities, A Christian Rum-seller, He opens as follows: "I was reared by Christian parents who taught me of one Jesus, the Christ, who had been crucified that all human beings, without reference to sex, nativity or vocation, who believed on him should be saved. But, I have been in the wholesale whiskey business for more than twenty-two years, and, if I accept as true the denunciations made against all in my business by a large organization of men and women who assert their superior piety and style themselves 'prohibitionists' I must be wholly given over to evil and entirely without moral guidance."

In the first place, the writer is most unjust to cast a slur on "prohibitionists because of their superior piety." Only the ignorant and bigoted among them are troubled with that disease. It would seem as if the writer nurtured some grave suspicions of his own piety. The Christian rum-seller next finds most caustic fault with the stand

taken by the Methodist Church, in which it justly accepts the guage of the rum-selling fraternity, and quotes from the Year Book of Discipline (1892) the following: "The liquor traffic is so pernicious in all its bearings; so inimical to the interest of honest trade; so repugnant to the moral sense; so injurious to the peace and order of society; so hurtful to the home and to the church and body politic, and so utterly antagonistic to all that is precious in life, that the only proper attitude towards it for Christians is that of relentless hostility. It can never be legalized without sin."

As to the above I earnestly endorse every word.

I am unable to comprehend the nature of a "Christian" rumseller, if by Christian we are to understand brotherly love. Nothing but theology could produce that strange animal. It must be a "freak" even in that system of incomparable ignorance. Our "Christian" rumseller endeavors to offset the official opposition of his Methodist enemies by the usual resort of all theological blindlings. He quotes scripture! "He (God) causeth the grass to grow * * * and wine that maketh glad the heart of man." * * * "For John the Baptist came neither eating bread nor drinking wine and ye say, he hath a devil: the Son of Man is come eating and drinking and ye say, behold a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber, a friend of publican and sinners."

Then he says: "From these passages it is clear that God's chosen people were required to offer wine as a sweet savor unto the Lord, etc." As usual, after using the Bible up, with such people he falls back on another marvelous respecter for antiquated authority and quotes a lot of stuff favoring the temperate and medicinal use of alcohols from the writings of physicians, not one of whom will dare deny that instead of "making glad the heart of man," the use of alcoholic beverages is far more liable to produce diseases of the kidneys, liver and heart, and other constitutional miseries. Next, our author enters on the discussion of sin of which he gives us the following learned conclusion: "But what is sin?" I prefer to accept the orthodox and very well-established definition: "Sin is any want of conformity unto or any transgression of the law of God."

One wonders what manner of Christian the writer in *The Arena* is? If he is willing to accept "God's Law" as written in the decalogue, then, as will soon be shown, he is lost; his chances in the future are null and void. Both judge and jury are against him. No Scotch verdict! Were I to venture on a theological diagnosis I should say that the only kind of theological Christianity capable of producing such an intellectually obtuse specimen of the "genus homo" as a Christian rumseller, must be Presbyterianism, and that the writer in question must be one of those self-satisfied theological frauds, self-elected to be one of the elect through the vicarious atonement of the Christ, no matter how unselect his deportment on earth might be. I must admit that I have more respect for Dominic Gillhoolan, publican and sinner, than I have for a self-elected Christian rumseller. Certainly no other system of theology, than the most primitive orthodoxy could produce such an intellectual nondescript. These quotations from the Bible in favor of the liquor traffic call to mind another: "Beware of false prophets which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves." The "faith" of any person with any claims to education, any knowledge of the world, any acquaintance with the misery and social devastations due to the rum traffic can only be compared to a certain individual's faith in salvation, which caused Jesus to say, "Verily, I have not found so great faith, no not in Israel." "Verily," I say, it is no wonder that Christians of that stamp can sing,

"The vilest sinner can return"

or swing the culpable murderer from the scaffold of crime into the blissful eternity of an unknown—what?

Any so-called vice, can be proven to be a virtue from the theological Bible. But there is a Bible, not writ by hands, a Bible scarcely touched by the priest, a Bible so profound that the wand of the skillful scientists but lifts its lines, a Bible which never lies, a work as infallible as the Rock of Ages—to which we can turn, for it is the law of man, the law eternal. That Bible is the "Book of Revelations," on the back of which in indelible letters is cut "Nature." A not unimportant section of this

wondrous book treats on a subject somewhat known as "Human Nature," the most mysterious and least understood conundrum in the whole book. This human nature has been piling up and recording its experience for unknown thousands of years, and these experiences are collected in its scared books among which is the "Bible" so-called. As we read all these Bibles over, as we study for some one great leading principle of sociology which has become of paramount importance to man universal, we find it summed up by Buddha, Confucius, Zoroaster, Moses, and the Christ. It is not Christian. It is of man. It is the "Golden Rule." "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you." Or as I prefer, "Do unto others as you would to yourselves." Does that mean to pile the fagots around the already singeing flesh? Does that mean to send a husband home in condition to make worse than an orthodox hell out of the family fireside? A Christian rumseller! "Gott bewahr!" A Christian Devil would be equally consistent. The gospels say, "Love one another, and unless ye be as little children ye cannot enter the Kingdom of Heaven." The Christianity of the Christian rumseller is as mysterious and strange, as childlike and bland, "and has ways as peculiar" as Bret Harte's "Heathen Chinees." The Christian rumseller finds his conscience touched, it probably is his pockets, by the vigorous stand of the Methodist Church, because it refuses to accept his select reading from the scripture as inspired by his satanic theology. I desire to say a word about the Methodists. To me they are the most interesting, the most useful, and at the same time the most illogical of all the Christian sects. They are the pioneers of soul-salvation. They are grand in their earnestness, sublime in their devotion. Of all theological systems they best represent the conflict between common sense and theology. The Methodists are terribly human. They are of the flesh fleshy. That is their "best holt." That is why they win as they do among the common people. They are the only real rival of Romanism. They fight the devil in the flesh as well as with the fires of a theoretical hell. But, in one thing the Methodist excels the other faiths, and that is this, when human life on earth is at stake, they throw theology to the winds. Then God comes to

man. And not man to God. We did not find the Methodists preaching the "Divine Rights of Slavery" in 1860, any more than we now hear them advocating the divine origin of King Rum. The Presbyterian Church, the Episcopal Church and Romanism did then preach of the divine nature of slavery, and it is largely in those churches to-day, and in the theological doctrines of liberal Christianity, that we find the advocacy of the heavenly origin of the juice of the grape, and the most wonderful and intelligence-strangling jugglery to show that alcohol, B. C. from the Lord's special vintage, was not as devilishly demoralizing as alcohol A. D. 2000. Were superstitions only realities what a cordial handshaking would be constantly going on between his satanic majesty and his departing worldly agents, the majority of the clergy, and orthodox rumsellers? As a materialist, but at the same time as a man wrestling with the devilish results of human ignorance, even as earnestly as any Methodist elder, I say: "Doubly accursed be any system of Christianity which dare uphold, even by one breath, so foul a blot on common sense, as the liquor traffic. Any church which assumes any other position, any church, or man who in the name of God or Christ, seeks to find an excuse for the rum traffic in Biblical tradition or elsewhere is on the side of human damnation, and no matter what his theology is, is the agent of "Hell on earth."

The Christianity of to-day and ideal Jesusism proclaims the "brotherhood of man on earth." It will be noticed that, like all monsters which feed on human weaknesses, our Christian rumseller recognizes no such earthly condition, for he tells us that "he was reared by Christian parents who taught him that all people 'were to be saved,' irrespective of sex, nativity, or vocation." That of course is the usual orthodoxy. It sings "Jesus paid it all" at the last gasp, and off drops the filth and corruption of the earth and the impurest and vilest swing into the purity of everlasting life and the arms of an immaculate God and his vicarious agent, Jesus, the Christ. The rumsellers and temperate tipplers, who do not know the hell of a high-strung, over-corded nature, have the favorite excuse, that "we cannot be held responsible for the

weaknesses of others." This is just the point where socialism should, can, and must portray its might and, to protect itself, protect its weaklings against these ravenous and hypocritical wolves. Might is right, and until the public safety is sufficiently threatened to call might enough into action, it might as well whistle to the winds, about any rights it possesses.

Our Christian rumrunner tells us that his life-damning trade is in conformity with the "law of God," as follows: "Therefore unto the law of God do I appeal to determine whether the Methodist Church or any other organization is correct in asserting that the liquor traffic can never be legalized without sin." Again he says: "sin is any want of conformity unto or transgression of the laws of God." Blasphemy! Does selling rum comply with the "love one another," of his Jesus or the "golden rule" he hypocritically swears by. Does the Christian rumrunner dare assert that the "laws of God" justify taking advantage of another's weakness; of sending brilliant fathers home to debauch and ruin the lives of noble wife and precious children; do they justify a traffic in that irritant which ruins almost every one it touches, or who touch it, and even makes what may be called necessary vice a thousand times more degrading; do they justify the use of that factor which is the active agent in the debauching of our public service? Man! Man! the widows, the motherless, the poor drunkard himself, the unfortunate woman, the murderer in his cell, must send up a plea to the throne of your God, to save the advocate of any such infernal machinery as the rum business. If your God does say "sell rum" in any sense, in any law of nature, then in the name of human nature I declare "God and nature a liar," and am willing to stand by the consequences. A word as to the "sin" business. Every honest student of the Bible must admit that the sins commanded against "In the word," are all social sins. The "thou shalt not," bears invariably on the relation of the person acting to some one else. Reaction is not considered, except in the laws of punishment. The Bible knows no such thing as "thou shalt not drink rum because it may injure you." It knows no such thing as "thou shalt not over-fornicate," for it allowed Solomon more wives than Brigham Young ever

wanted, and even scoured Judea for a young and comely maid to enliven the departing days of ancient David. Biblical morality is all in relation to some one else. Its whole spirit and the ten commandments can be summed up into one grand social law: "Thou shalt not do anything liable to bring injury to any one else."

I challenge the Christian rumseller to show where his nefarious traffic is not liable to injure both individuals and the peace of the community? I challenge him to show where his business is not more far-reaching in its liabilities than even the murder of as noble a man as the lamented Lincoln? The definition of sin, the legal idea of sin, the very origin of sin, is the commitment of any act which threatens the peace and welfare of any one else, and that means all. No other interpretation can be put on the decalogue. But the decalogue and every other regulative measure in the Bible or elsewhere, is founded on a still higher law, the fundamental law of life itself. The law of self-protection! This is the law on which the Methodist Church and prohibitionists stand. If the law of God contradicts it, or some theological interpretation denies it, then so much the worse for God and the Ism. The law of self-protection is the fundamental law of right. It, however, leads to a second, which is the complement of the first: it implies the might to protect one's self. Where that might fails in the individual, and his weakness is liable to cause injury to others, then that greater might (socialism) must step in and protect itself by making it impossible for the individual to injure himself and thereby be a menace to the welfare of others. There is and can be no such individual liberty which carries personal and social destruction in its path. All argument to the contrary is imbecilic. The ordinary opponents of prohibition assert that the prohibits "seek to interfere with the individualistic natural rights of man." The "God-given right to make and sell rum," as the Christian dealer would probably say. That idea has been fully exploded already. I concede to the "Christian dealer," the right to sell rum, if his conscience permits, just so long as he can, but I assure him that as soon as human intelligence has a sufficient idea of the law of self-preservation being a necessity of the whole, that an

end will be made of his contemptible traffic with as little consideration as he now has for the unfortunate victims on whom he lives as a blood-sucking parasite.

Society owes it to its own safety to reduce all and every liability to social danger, with all the power at its command. We need not wait for any shepherd on the distant hill-tops to cry "wolf." The wolves are already among the human sheep. Their blood-thirsty fangs are buried deep in the life-blood of noble men, glorious women and innocent children. We have the might, if we only would, to strangle and bury the beast : to utterly destroy him. The medicinal argument of the necessity of alcohol in anything but the manufacture of drugs is all fetich. There is no place where it is used that a safer stimulant cannot be found. There may be cases of emergency where anything, almost liquid fire, may be justifiably used, but they are seldom. Such cases do not produce drunkards. It is the alcoholic tonic fetich which is a disgrace to the intelligence of an educated medical profession. The moment the rumseller admits the possibility of the abuse of alcohol he gives up the whole argument. It is our duty as individuals, and as society, to remove the sting of liability to any public danger as far as possible. We have to-day another public danger which I esteem more pestiferous than alcohol and which indeed makes alcohol doubly dangerous. The prohibitionists might as well include both evils in one and work for the absolute expulsion from the country, either in growth, manufacture or sale of tobacco in any form (it has not one single virtue, medicinal or otherwise) ; and for the limitation of the manufacture and sale of anything alcoholic to the use in the arts and sciences. Agitate all we can. Vote straight on national tickets and shoot to hit the mark anyway and anywhere locally, until the whole evil is stamped out is the only course the prohibitionists should follow. The guiding principle of right and rights is this : no person should do or be permitted to do that which is liable to injure himself. If he does not know enough to so act, or refuses to so act, as his act may bring danger of society, society has the might of right to protect itself in anyway it sees fit. That is all there is to the rum question. Till it can be choked at once, it must

be strangled slowly. Our method must be persistent education, and we must begin with the individual. It is absurd to expect to carry any such measure as prohibition, among a people who, individually, know so little of themselves that they actually have no idea of what is liable to injure them. The prohibitionists are inspired with a right-idea, but they partake of all the evils of the general ignorance of the community. Educate! Educate! Educate the children into the full mysteries of the laws of physiological-individual self-protection, and then, and only then, can we hope to have a society with intelligence appreciative enough of its own dangers to know enough to protect itself.

The place to fight the Rum as well as all other social evils is in the schools, the family, the lecture-room and the church. Laws without a united and powerful social force behind them are worse than the evil they are directed at, because they breed and inspire a disrespect for all law. They make law-breakers. Until the majority has become a body of law-abiding citizens it is useless to make a law for the minority which defies all law and decency, and is reckless regarding its own welfare.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
UNITED STATES.



EVERY ONE IS MADE MAN BEFORE BORN A CITIZEN.

THE United States is what may be termed a heterogeneous nation in the origin of its people, in comparison to the nations from which it has been made up, like Britain, Ireland, France, Germany, Italy, and even China, which are most decidedly homogeneous in combative self-protectiveness, but not inwardly. They are as factionally divided and socially disturbed as we are. The United States, were it not for inner dissensions, presents to us an advance picture, in a very imperfect form, of what the world is coming to, when true socialism shall have become fully understood and internationalism take the place of individualistic nationalism. Then shall the picture of traditional creation be fulfilled, and though even then the world will no more have been made for man than now, still universal man will be justified in claiming, with Monte Christo, "The world is mine," for I have made it so. We often hear such an expression as this, "I am an American," without the speaker realizing how little it means. It is absolutely nothing to be an American, or anything else. Thousands of lunatics and criminals are this. It is everything to be a man in the highest sense. If any peculiarities of national environment improve the general standard of manhood, they are good, but do not forget that it is the innate ability of the man which decides the result. It is not the nationality but the humanity which is of universal importance. An American has no claims to nationalism such as a German or Frenchman. He has no national characteristics. There is no such thing as the American language. There is nothing American but the soil. He can only speak in the narrow political sense which merely indicates that he happened to be born here. How many thousand Americans there are whose mothers conceived them in one of the "old" countries! Does the mere accident of locality of birth so suddenly change all the idiosyncrasies of a Ger-

man, a Frenchman, a Swede or a Pole? We know it does not, yet those who trace their pedigree back to foreign parents a few generations earlier are beginning to assume superiority to the new-comers, and some are seriously wishing that the venerable Uncle Samuel had not advertised his bounty quite so extensively and been less profligate in throwing away his inheritance. Nothing but the natural law of self-protection and the might to execute it gives to "Americans" already here any right to say who and what manner of people shall come in the future. It is time, for the same reason, that we began to exercise a most rigid qualitative selection as to who comes in, which will of itself regulate the quantitative. The selection should not begin with the Chinamen, however. They are not the trouble-makers. Put the bars up at ignorance and superstition. The standard of national and individual intelligence is a much safer criterion than the possession of a small amount of money. Those unreflecting people who are so boastful about being Americans are also inclined to place all the credit for what humanity has done for itself on this continent on our republican form of government. On the contrary, all the cumulative evidence at hand, and it is fast mounting up, not only goes to show that the form of government has had nothing to do with it, but is very likely to have exerted quite a contrary effect and to be still more disadvantageous in the future unless most material changes take place. The quotation previously given from Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace justly shows this and that we are fast approaching the conditions of the older countries. To hear egotistical ignoramuses talk, "blow" should be the word, one would think that a new race of supra-human men had been created with the white settlement in this country. It is true that, in many respects, the early settlers, especially those of the northern colonies, may be credited with a very large amount of that individualism on which all human success depends. America did not give it to them. They brought it with them. This condition of things largely predominated until towards the middle of this century (when the invasion of ignorance began), which from that time on has been a menace to the country. "The home of the free" is very

liable to be something far from that from the mistaken policy and speculative tendencies of the past. It is time to select who shall come here. There used to be a saying, "no Irish need apply." Let us generalize it to "no ignorance need apply." Let our consuls do something except draw fees and write crop reports. Let them study the human crop. The country then was indeed a refuge and a place to "begin a new life" for political refugees (and should ever be) and that class of political discontents who have largely led the world to what it is to-day. The people who came here, came because of that excessive individualism which drives men to desire to do as they please and gives them the might to do it. This they could not do in their native countries without danger to their lives and prosperity. The environment was so unfavorable to them that they either decided they must leave, or were driven out. This led to the continual immigration to this country of the finest selected individualism of the old. It often happens that a change in environment makes all the difference in the world whether an individual is successful or not. Change in environment is also the chief factor in altering human or animal characteristics. The law, "survival of the fittest," by no means indicates brute strength. The results of evolution show that the intellectual abilities have been more and more the winning factor. Brute strength does not amount to much now except in the most crude and natural environment. The giants of the modern fistic arena would be without occupation were it not for the remnant of savage brutality still in-bred in the majority of the human race. Jay Gould could not have succeeded in the purely natural environment to which the early settlers came. How many persons of a consumptive and generally weak physique do we see succeeding to-day where "brains win" when they would certainly perish under any natural severities? Each generation causes changes in the environment of the succeeding. While they have in a large measure softened the rigors and exactions of a natural environment, they have, with equal celerity, increased that still more difficult environment to overcome, human concurrence.

The phenomenal success of man in the United States

has been almost entirely disconnected with the government, except in one thing: it left them alone while it had any merit, but has now got to be a studied endeavor to deceive and plunder the people for the benefit of political and capitalistic individualism. There are political abuses and contemptible and rascally tyrannies exercised by cabinet officers and representatives of the people in this country as dangerous to their liberties as anything occurring in Russia. It is true that the character of the early settlers was such that for their own regulation they scarcely needed any government. The village communities were perfectly able to attend to what little local disturbance there was. The people were widely scattered, and few, and there was so much nature that it counted but little. All they had to do was to appropriate it. Whatever might was necessary was not directed to maintaining their rights in relation to each other, but in despoiling the Indians of theirs. (The poor devils had no idea of the value of their "birthright.") Those old people were not the saints they are pictured. They were as willing to buy land with rum and old glass as their descendants are. The early attempts at government were largely the selection of some central authority to provide means of general safety against Indians, and the Quakers and Baptists, who were considered to be still more children of the devil. Even our Puritan forefathers denied their theology, for they never admitted that any one who interpreted the theological fetich different than they did was a child of the same God, and had equal rights on earth (to the earth). The resistance to be overcome was crude nature without the severest environment of human competition. It is a poor man who cannot hold his own under that kind of environment when nature offered as much as it did in New England. While merciless in its slowness, nature gradually kills off the weaklings which a mistaken altruism is now supporting. But it was no poor humanity which opened up the struggle on this continent. They were almost the naturally selected giants of the old world. They had the might to do as they pleased, and they meant to and did. They attacked nature with hammer and tongs. They fought the devil with the same energy. We know the result! There were men of talent in all direc-

tions among them, from the unflinching theologian who dealt out the weekly dose of the "fire and brimstone of an angry God" to artisans of ability and strength. They were a "tough set" of the right kind, those early settlers. Laborers for wages were few. They had to depend on themselves. The blacksmith shop was at home, so of the factory and the shoe-shop, and, for a time, even the mill. They came with the individualism of self-reliance which the rugged American environment soon developed to an unprecedented degree. The accursed cruelty of Christian environment has made the Jew cunning, watchful and cautious. He trusts no one. A necessary and good quality just at present. The environment of the early American settlers made them men. They feared nothing except their superstitious ignorance. Like giants they walked over nature and became monarchs of field and sea. The sons have not advanced on the fathers. Intellectual antiquarianism is the mode if not the fashion. There is really very little highly evolved individualism among us. With the majority houses and intellectual abilities are equally inherited. They live in both as left by their ancestors. Only a very few are well-bred enough to go it alone. The scarcity of laborers in the first two centuries has been of untold benefit to the whole world. It led to the development of those handy inventions which have made "Yankeeedom" so celebrated. The same cause, in the west, as the large treeless prairies came into settlement, also played an equally essential rôle (environment again) in causing the development of modern agricultural machinery. "America rules the world" not because Americans are supra-human beings, but because they had a world before them which had to be conquered or they could not survive. The foundation of human success was never truly laid in the sands of a constantly shifting theology, but on the solid stones of impregnable individualism. It was a "free-fight and no favor." They tell us "labor was cheap" in those days, which is true as a comparison of wages with the present day, but false as to actual fact. Labor was dearer then than now. The fact is, that there was no room for labor except for self, it was cheap because no one wanted it. Everything else was cheap in comparison, because all the consumption was in

the few wage-earners and town people. The people were not seeking a market. They consumed their own products. From the time of the settlement of the country the local governments had very little to do with each other, and their chief work was to watch Indians, though there constantly became more and more demand for a government, from the actions of a distant environment, which became too much interested in the colonies for their own peace and comfort. The settlement of this country was but a part of a general revolution by which the most intelligent of the people of the Old World had shaken themselves free from one form of fetich reverence. They had broken with church government as represented by Romanism. Notwithstanding the seeming fanaticism, we scarcely can appreciate what a load of blind adherence to traditional bigotry the world had shaken off in 1620. The very heavens of tradition had been shaken and tumbled about as never before. The head of the church immaculate was cracked so that it can never again be patched; so that it will not hold together no matter how skillful its priestly surgeons. We now think those early fathers were terrible bigots, as we read such poetry as has been quoted in early pages of this work, only to show the absurdity of what modern Christians profess to endorse, without realizing that they do not believe a word of it. Our forefathers were as much freethinkers in their day as the most advanced of us are to-day. Martin Luther was as much of an "antichrist" in his time as the writer is to-day. So was Elder Winslow, and Cotton Mather. It is nothing if they did try to persecute "honest Christians" of a different faith. They knew no better.

They had the courage of their convictions. Liberality is a mistaken conception. We give others the "right to free speech," because our own success and respect demand it for ourselves. A liberality which is that of indifference is the same thing as the weakness of ignorance. We want none of it. The only difference between us is, that having beheaded all fetichism and demolished all idols, the modern freethinker demands free speech for all. He fears nothing. Free thought is nothing. It is the right to free utterance which the world requires. Having won a successful revolt against Rome after a

battle of some two hundred years, the free men of that day began to see that another self-created divinity stood in their way, the oppressions of whose individualism only became seriously manifest when the greater oppression of theological ignorance had been securely muzzled. The next "self-anointed of the Lord" to be done away with in the march of man was the king. Many Americans think that the work began here. It did not. It had begun in Europe long before. It was fairly under way when the Pilgrims came to this country. The Magna Charta was old then. It began in unknown history, in the rebellions in the family circles, and then in tribal governments. It began when communal misery began, and will not be lost until the last trumpet is blown that marks the victory of man in socialism, and the command "be fruitful" shall no longer be a fetich to lead on to new sufferings and new miseries. With concentration into nations it received church protection, and kings became willing tools of the church until it sought to strangle them also. When Martin Luther shattered, without knowing it, the "Throne of God" the earthly thrones began to totter also. Luther broke the back of the fetich superstition, and opened the door to the light of reason. The movements in this country attracted nothing but favorable attention in England for about 150 years. The king was mighty glad to get rid of a lot of "religious cranks" and general disturbers of the peace. He was willing to help them fight the Indians and the French both, but when the colonies had grown to be quite a nation, and acquired considerable wealth, and their business was worth something, then the king began to feel the virtues of his holy ointment and to show his authority. He was simply a very human (not humane) individual. He saw a chance to make a dollar and replenish his exchequer by taxing the colonies. Think of us blaming the poor man for that; one would think that kings made the people. (They do try to do their share.) Ye fools, no government can exist an hour except with consent of the people! It matters not what the nature of the consent is. No people in the world yet knew enough, as such, to govern themselves. Look at your own country, Americans. The "proof of the pudding" is the result. The forefathers passed over 150

years without feeling the king's hand on their pocket-books, during which they had become the most self-reliant individualists on earth. There had gradually developed in them a very marked disrespect for the "anointed of God." They refused to be taxed! This should not be forgotten by the people to-day. How queerly things turn round! It is largely the sons of those men who refused to pay taxes to the king of England, without representation, who are now the kings of America and for the same reason desire to tax other people. They are only enabled to do this by controlling representation as the King of England did in 1776 with his governors and other officers. But the "Spirit of '76" did not originate in America. It is as old as man. Eve was its mother when she revolted against being kept in ignorance. It did not, however, crystallize against "God's anointed" until the hornet of the church had been robbed of his sting. The poor insect keeps up a terrible buzzing yet. It fears its existence will be lost sight of. It has ground to. Rousseau, in France, was one of the pioneer instigators of the 18th century movement for the "rights of man." It had its advocates in Germany, Holland and England. The mightiest spirit of the whole movement, the very incarnation of the Spirit of Liberty was born in England, and came to this country to be the "Light of the New World" when all was hung in the darkness of despondency. THOMAS PAINE, The anointed of the Lord, did not die at once. They lived then. They still live. They will live so long as useful to man. Then a little while and——. The church, with the exception of the dissenters, preached the "Divine Right of Kings," because by upholding them it was sure of financial and other support. They one and all united in damning Paine to perdition because he preached the divine rights of man. The descendants of the dissenters of that day still preach and teach that Thomas Paine was an atheist. They lie! They would torture us dissenters, were it not that the divine light of intelligence, sent rolling down the ages by Paine, has shed too much of the warmth of the "Age of Reason" into the damp and congealed vaults of theological superstition.

When the Prince of Justice, the Father of the Tree of

Knowledge, returned to America after almost dying for the human race in France, he found that the infernal priesthood had so clouded the country with perditional ignorance that the tree had wilted, its branches were barren and the son of man had no place to lay his head. Even his bones have had no peace. But Justice is coming. The priests will soon be put among the antiquated "curios" of the past.

Theology is the quintessence of ignorance. Whoever heard of ignorance leading humanity to the light? The priests are like the foolish virgins in the Bible. Their lamps are never trimmed.

They are filled with the oil of traditional superstition. Their wicks are encrusted with the accumulated crusts of theological error. This leads us to a study of monarchism in the historical critical sense rather than the revolutionary of 1776, so we will give a few moments' attention to

MONARCHISM *vs.* REPUBLICANISM.

Many Americans will doubtless rebel and assume that the order of things should be reversed and that we should consider Republicanism *vs.* Monarchism. Should we do that, we should but repeat the work of our fathers and the methods of their sons since then. It is high time that the order of things was reversed in this country, and even in schools, that our children were taught to see the virtues in monarchism. Our fathers did not stop to do any such thing, though they could not help but adopt most of the historical principles of government, except the king. The spirit of '76 was revolutionary as against kings only. Unfortunately the sons are so veritably the "sons of their fathers" in the sense of prejudices, that even in the quieter days since '76, they have not taken time to look back and see if their good sires really did not "drop something" or leave something behind worth having when they so ruthlessly dropped kings, and the royal prerogative in government. We think that it was an exemplification of almost supernatural wisdom when our sires declared "governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." There was nothing new in that. It is as old as patriarchal

government and the family-circle. As stated elsewhere, I believe in "kings by the divine right of natural ability." That is just the point where our fathers' wisdom failed them. They are not to blame for it. We, their children, are, however. We are, because the fathers unwittingly, as the logical result of natural selection, did represent, in themselves, the royal principle, stripped of its hereditary prerogatives. That royal principle is, which finds its justification in socialistic appreciation of the law self-protection, the delegation of the guiding power by the people, by them to him, or those, who in and of himself, or themselves, unites and represents the self-protective necessity and desires of the people more than any one else in the social body. That is the origin of the king both as a fact and etymologically. As said, so carried away were the fathers with the revolutionary spirit of '76, which hated kings of all kinds, that they were determined to bury the idea beyond power of resurrection in their declaration of independence, and later in the constitution. As will be shown in the next article, they undertook the impossible. As Huxley advocates, and altruism essays, as the Populists are now trying to do, as Christianity has tried to, they sought to overcome natural law with a "theory." (Really the world is indebted immensely to the populist "Leader" for that admission and the word. The populist's admission that all is "theory" cuts the gordian knot of traditional superstition better than tons of argument.) Nature was never and never will be mastered by "a theory." Nothing can prove that better than a view of the character of the fathers. They represented natural royalty. They represented the acme of self-protective intelligence in the colonies and were so recognized by the colonists. In other words, it was individualistic-socialism, represented by the acme of selected individual intelligence. It was the kings instead of a king. According to natural law the representation is identical. Instead of a king for a tribe, or a nation, the colonists selected the natural intellectual kings of the respective kingdoms. The congressional convention was that of the intellectual and natural kings of the respective colonies. It was the microcosms united in the macrocosm. It was according to the unchangeable laws. It is so expressive, that sentence as to

"hindsight and foresight." The "hindsight" of the fathers was obstructed by the hatred of one king so much that they failed to appreciate the value of the natural law on which natural kingship depends. They were also carried away with a dread of that unnatural custom, hereditary kings which is founded on the populist's "theory," and in spite of which our country is still producing its royal leaders according to cosmic law. The children, however, still wear the colored spectacles of the fathers. Instead of studying the fathers as they should, they study them as traditions. In their endeavors to prevent hereditary regality (which cannot guarantee royal ability of equal value and general protective leadership at all times), the fathers have saddled us with a government of ability by inability, in which ability can only hold its own by purchasing another kind of ability which makes the inability of the country its victims. That is the government of the United States in 1894. The fathers unwittingly robbed individualism and natural ability of its royal prerogative when they declared for the equality of man—under the law and in all things pertaining to the government. In their ignorance they set up the combat against cosmic law, which Mr. Huxley advocates, and laid the grounds for the coming revolution in which natural ability will as surely assume its place as the cosmos is not a "theory" but a fact. The victory will never be complete, however, until the declaration of '76 has been annulled and a new one made in accordance with cosmic law, and a constitution drafted and ratified which will put the government of this country in the hands of its most comprehensive intelligence in the truest and broadest self-protective sense and render the politician and "mossback" citizen an object of innocuous desuetude and, if possible, simply a historical record of one hundred years of misgovernment. What we have to do is really to place the regality of the vital interests of the country at the head of the government instead of misrepresentatives of a defunct "theory." To all intents and purposes, the evils of our government are as bad and much the same as those of hereditary monarchy which puts inability on the throne and debars the nation of the services of its greatest and best ability. The hereditary politician, in the party sense, is

the natural representative of the hereditary imbecile or disregardful monarch on the royal throne instead of the rule by a king or kings by right of the natural law of supreme ability, recognized by the people. All governments are with the consent of the governed. An intelligent and progressive people demand a government of the same kind; a supine people are slaves of a tyrant of any kind. A morally degenerate people insures a morally degenerate and still more demoralizing fear of tyranny. "The last stage of the man is worse than the first." Such is the American government and the American people to-day. Not all. The kings among the people, kings by natural right (not hereditary, by their father's position), must first assume their royal prerogative before they can delegate it to the natural kings among them, selected first by the law of natural selection, and then endorsed by the people according to the law of natural protection. We must do as the fathers did. We must not do as they erroneously taught us. The saying must be reversed: It is, "Sons, do as we did, not as we taught you. We acted right. We were led astray in search of new Gods ("theories"—excuse me), for which forgive us. Follow the royal prerogative of natural ability and let not these new 'theories' lead you farther into the ditch of corruption into which we unfortunately guided you." Such is the examples of the Fathers: Such the writing on the wall—

"Truth is the mightiest of all things.
Ability alone is King. All 'theories'
Must perish before the impregnable facts.
Follow the Law!"

Natural monarchism pre-supposes not only a highly intelligent, self-protective individualism in the ruler, or leader, but in the people also whom he really represents, and by whose consent he rules.

On general principles, the question of supreme ability being unconsidered, hereditary monarchy stands for natural individualism, egotism and disregard of the public welfare consequent on the lack of an intelligent regard for the law of self-protection, both in the king and people by whose consent he still governs.

Such governments are founded on "a theory." They

are opposed to the natural law of the survival of the fittest, and a rule by the fittest with and by the consent of those best fitted to judge—

The spirit of '76 found its culmination in this country, in the

“DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.”

“The Creator has endowed all men with certain inalienable rights, among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.”

Then was a general government first really inaugurated in the United States. Far be it from me to speak disrespectfully of as grand a body of men as the world has ever seen or known. Every one is a child of a past environment. Each advancing generation has been marked by the smashing of idols and dethronement of superstitions. The fathers built as wisely as they knew how. They were not immaculate. Their sons should not disgrace their descent by making fetiches of the fathers. With the daily revolution of the sun of knowledge, the clouds of ignorance became dispelled. A man does not live on the dry crusts of the past. He lives on the fresh truth which never decays or dries up. The crusts of ignorance are thrown by the wayside. The fathers were grand, but when we make Gods of them we are liable to dig their graves. They were fetich worshipers, even as their venerating sons are. They believed in the “equality of man,” and yet denied it by upholding the most unlimited individualism. When they said that the Creator had endowed man with the three “inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness” they introduced three dangerous and misleading fetiches to American public life, so that now it can be said that Government in the United States is a farce! The Government of the United States began as a misconception which produced an abortion that is decaying of corrupt political gangrene.

Some one may cry out “treason! traitor!” Let us see if the cry is justifiable.

First, as to the “inalienable right to life!” We have already discussed that point. If inalienable all should

live. There should be no death. The declaration itself shows the impotency of God. It kills itself. We have shown that living depends on the physical ability to live, and might to maintain life, and all the declarations from the beginning to the end of time could not change that law. It may be said that the fathers did not mean that, but the fact is that the real meaning of what they did say never entered their heads. They were too wise men ever to have put such an inconsistency into words had they realized their full import. The next thing they declared for, was the most unlimited individualism. They declared for "liberty," not realizing that nature contradicts the idea in every natural phenomenon. Nature, as we call it, is the most abject illustration of subjection to law. "Only the great law binds." In declaring for the liberty of unrestricted individualism, our fathers laid the foundation for the war of secession and for the present rotten superstructure of ignorance and corruption. They declared for that which no law can give. Nature is against it. Evolution contradicts it. Individualism itself kills it. Liberty is cataclysmatic. It leads to revolution everywhere. Socialism, intelligently applied, is the only governor which can regulate the political machine.

Let me again say:

"Natural rights," or "God-given rights," are dependent on the individual having the ability to obtain what he thinks he needs, and might to retain it after he has got it—Individualism.

Socialism is the endeavor of the whole to so justly regulate individualism that each person shall be able to use his natural abilities sufficiently to obtain self-protection and to maintain him in his right to that degree and that only. The mistake of all altruistic endeavors has been thus far that they have tried to do this by law or communal regulation. It cannot be done. It can only be done in one way, culling out those unsuitable, and by education and breeding up to as near an equality of ability as possible. Equality in ability does not mean in direction also.

Socialism cannot ignore natural individualism, but it can learn from it, and how to regulate it. It must do this by educating the people in the grounds of their inequality,

and show them that the cause thereof lies in their ignorance of natural laws. It must show them that the fathers erred when they declared all men equal.

The people of this country actually believe that the fathers spoke "God's truth" in declaring all men had equal rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; the rich theoretically, the poor actually. I was discussing this point with a noted and, in many respects, able altruistic labor reformer, and after stating to him the folly of his position he said to me, "Why, man, the declaration of independence declares these things to be inalienable facts, as if God has spoken it; and the constitution legally guarantees them to all American citizens."

The man did not realize that he had struck hard on the danger-rock of our political sea—on which the ship of state is liable to be shattered to pieces unless some bold and skillful social navigators take the helm. That mistaken clause has led the people of this country to believe that they are individually equal to anything regardless of natural fitness. "Has not God made us so and does not the constitution qualify us?" Talk about Englishmen, the American is a more egotistical fool than the Chinaman, who thinks himself a special creation. This erroneous idea has so sunk into our public life that it has become a part of the bone and sinew of the people. It is the chief reason why men of sense take so little interest in politics. It equalizes too much. It levels down. It does not tend to build up.

No matter what we may think of the multitude as individuals, we have been taught this nonsense so long, that it seems, in the nature of things, that any American citizen is such a supra-human animal in comparison to any other countryman, that even if he cannot manage his own business successfully, he is fully equal to manage the affairs of the state, and the poor deluded fool actually thinks so himself.

It is wonderful to see how quickly Tim O'Flanagan, becomes Mr. and Jonathan Hayseed, the "Hon. Mr." the moment they get elected to office. It is disgusting to see neighborhood familiarity change to fetichtical deference on such occasions. It wants something. It is something to take off one's hat to a real king, but disgraceful to

respect an ignorant fetich. Who would trust such Things an hour with his private business. They are good enough for national affairs. Aldermen and councilmen are generally made of different stuff than legislators. They can not only manage their own affairs, but those of the people also, for their own benefit. The "solid men of the town" look on as if it were all right. "It is American, you know." Fortunately for our British friends it has not yet become "English yer know" to put a fool or rascal into a public trust. Neither the declaration of independence, nor the constitution of this country can stand much longer without decided change. The one must declare for the inequality of man and that Justice is all that man can attain to. The constitution must disqualify illiterates, imbeciles and incompetents from all public duties and rights. Government in this country must become a scientific business and not a game, with the people for pawns. Any one who will study the movement known as the "People's Party," or who sees the kind of men they have generally been represented by, or who has had experience with legislation in the West, or who knows the stuff our city governments are made of, knows full well the evil effects of this law of equality. The danger of the thing is even more manifest when we come to reason with some of the best representative men of the country and hear them say "Oh, what difference does it make; anything is good enough for a Congressman." To this have we fallen! To this the fathers lead us, though they had no such idea themselves. Attention has been already called to the effects of this "equality" cry in Europe, and on immigrants. I speak from years of personal experience among such people on both sides of the Atlantic. The well-off and self-satisfied foreigner has the most absurd idea that this is a lawless country where the knife, revolver and Judge Lynch do most of the regulating. The dissatisfied and poorer class think it also a lawless country, but in a different way. They assume they can do as they please here. They look on law and kings as one and the same thing. With this gross misconception they come among us not to find much change between the land they left behind and this, so far as the laws are concerned. They look for

the supposed equality and find it not. The American natural king takes the place of the king by hereditary accident. They both have earned their position either directly or indirectly. Notwithstanding all the loud-mouthed talk to the contrary, they find the condition of the laboring classes in our crowded cities no better than in Europe. If going west to farms, they do find land cheaper, but this fact is offset by the new methods and expense of getting started, so that, as Wallace shows, the tenant farmers of Europe are often the much better off.

How long is it going to take for men to learn that law can neither do nor undo much until it is the expression of a public opinion which has already done it? The fathers had already made themselves free before they ratified their act in the constitution.

The fetich of equality, set up by the fathers, must be pulled down. It will cause revolution otherwise. The people must be educated to look to themselves only for salvation and not seek it in new laws made for the occasion. The occasion must be a fact before the law can be of any value. One might as well try to make a "mad bull" a well behaved member of the herd by law as to make social or political reform by law.

The first reform necessary is to bury the spirit of '76. It has done its work.

THE NATIONAL FRIENDSHIP FETICH.

The spirit of the nineteenth century was founded in irrational fetichism. "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," said the French revolutionists. The conditions in Europe show it was an idolatrous dream. Right here let me shatter another American fetich, or rather two. It is amusing to hear Americans express their friendship for France and Russia in comparison to England. Friendship between nations is far less sincere and binding than between men, because there is occasionally a friendship between men which nothing but the death of both ever terminates. England is the one nation with which the United States should keep on good terms in preference to any others even if she did, as any one else would, keep a "weather eye" out for herself in the late war. It was

all right for George III., to try to tax this country if he could. The people had an equal right not to pay the taxes if they could. They did not. It is all right for the individualistic manufacturers of the country to tax the rest of us if they can by their tariff laws. It is equally right for the rest of us to prevent their doing so if we can. There should be no actual fight about it. If the people of this country have not intelligence enough to see they are being robbed; if they are such contemptible slaves to machine politics, they deserve all they get and more too. France did not care an iota for us in the Revolution. Nor does she now. She hated England, and consequently did her best to harm her. We simply benefited thereby! For which no thanks! The reason for an act should control the sentiment following it. She was as willing as England to take any advantage of a permanent split in the Union, and any weakness of the South as shown by her sending Maximilian into Mexico. She deserted him when she found the "game was up." Russia does not care an iota for us, but, taking advantage of the national and honorable business rivalry between this country and Britain, she smooths the American cat's fur the right way, because she thinks we might aid her if she and England got at war in Asia. If ever we did, we should be enemies to civilization. Not Russia but England is carrying the arts by civilization into Asia. An extradition treaty with Russia, which includes political refugees even of anarchists in Russia, will be an insult to the spirit of '76 and a disgrace to the twentieth century. Americans must stand up for justice, not tyranny.

On national friendship a gushing "correspondent" has this to say on the German exhibit at the World's Fair:

"Germany has done more for Uncle Sam this year than any other foreign nation, and Germany should have our warmest thanks and our kindest feelings evermore for doing so much."

That is all the result of contact with the "windy city." Germany is looking out for herself, as we are, as Chicago is. It is national individualism, though the whole world will reap the benefit. The fair itself is individualistic and conceptive, but will be socialistic in its benefits.

The other fetich Americans must get rid of is that all

the evils in Europe, most of which are imaginary, are due to standing armies, and that the latter are only kept in force to hold the royal families in position. I am ashamed to say that I have seen even traveled Americans come home with that idea. The standing army has no more necessary connection with royalty than it has with the man in the moon, as proven by the conditions in France. The national hatreds of Europe are as old as the nations, and will never cease until international commerce gets so big that the "almighty dollar" rules stronger than royal family or nationalism. The only reason that we have no standing army is our favorable geographical situation. The standing armies of Europe are more of a blessing and not one-half as threatening as the national indifference and dishonesty in this country which finds its expression in that gigantic robbery, the pension list, and the general desire for a government job. This disease is worse than a pestilence in the west. It does not make itself as manifest in the east, except in the cities. The government of a monarchy is of necessity patriotic: so much so in fact, that American ignoramuses call them "paternal." The very existence of the government itself is dependent on national existence. The terrible hereditary struggle between the nations of Europe, for which there is not a single logical reason, causes the respective governments to study the prosperity of the people to the smallest details in all general and special matters which they cannot be expected to do themselves. This is what idiots in this country call "paternalism," but which they are glad enough to reap the benefits of. This republic can learn a most valuable lesson. The army is not the cause of this, but the same cause which causes the army is the cause of it. The soldiers must be provided for. The nation must be equal to any emergency caused by an antagonistic neighbor. This causes the most exact study of all the national resources of the country. It causes continued investigation into every means for preserving the artificial resources of the country and seeking the causes of diseases in man and animals. It gradually leads to the preservation of the health and wealth of the nation as well as augments it. In all these things Germany and France are as far ahead of this country and Britain as we are ahead of them in

certain kinds of agriculture and domestic machinery from the scarcity of men here, in earlier days. Thus it can be seen how environment develops nations in different directions. But to call government support of science to develop and preserve the nation, "paternalism," is to show weak imbecility. We are glad enough to take all the benefits and the whole outside world is indebted to those countries for valuable chemical and hygienic discoveries more than they are to us for our boasted practical inventions. We claim our American civilization to be superior to any other, and yet we have an annual loss from infectious diseases in our animal wealth of not less than one hundred millions, and not a state is taking any practical or scientific means to find the causes thereof, while the general government combats all state action in that direction, and does nothing itself. While every German state, in fact, all European states, have laboratories in which most persistent studies are being made into the nature and causes of disease in man, here, in this boasting country of Christian enlightenment, with its altruistic gush, and an annual loss to the country in one way and another of not less than five hundred million dollars from preventable human diseases, we have not one laboratory under government support, devoted exclusively to preserving the lives of the people.

The theologians are continually claiming that this is a "Christian nation" in the brotherhood sense. I defy them to prove it. Not an act can they show! What has been done to prevent cholera has not been done to save lives, but money. "The disturbances to business" was the argument. A human life in the eyes of the people of this country as a whole is of no more value than a coyote's. We can pay millions on millions to soldiers and their so-called relatives who never did a thing to merit it, but not one dollar to keep men alive. Private charity, in the name of superstition, can support the widows and orphans made by disease, but public spirit cannot spend one dollar to stop it and save the misery. It is not one cent for prevention but millions of dollars and thousands of lives as shot paid into the lockers of that grim monster, disease. Hygienic measures find support only when there is "something in it" for the politician. It is true

paternalism we want and not the bastard article which we have. Another thing: while in this country "anything is good enough for a public office," the rivalry between nations and their own internal conditions calls the brainiest men in the nation to such places in Europe. While we are the victims of ignorance in nearly all our governmental work, the people of Europe are in the hands of the representative intelligence of each nation. Thus far republicanism in the United States is a disgrace to the words of patriotism or intelligence. Only in times of great emergency has there been either in our government. The people have developed, in spite of the government, simply because there was so much room and so much to do. They have left the government to the unintelligent and unscrupulous until they are in danger of being robbed of their heritage. What with the hordes of ignorants, our insane public policy on the part of hungry politicians, we have introduced into the country, supported as it has been by the blind selfishness of our highly protected manufacturers and the insane domestic increases among the ignorant classes themselves, we are in a condition of danger which should cause Americans to look at home and stop talking about monarchical governments, and the pauperism of Europe which is a hundred per cent. better fitted than we are to meet coming social emergencies. Look at blatant congressmen in Washington talking sympathy with strikes and social eruptions, with party papers doing more to inspire anarchy than a thousand Johann Mosts. It is right and proper to study whether injustice is being done, and to earnestly endeavor to do away with it. It is not good sense to throw a match into a powder magazine. That is just what a lot of democratic politicians tried to do during the last election. They were democrats with a vengeance! No one need think that I assume for a moment that any man is a saint. I know better! I have never known a "saint" who had any sense. Power simply means the ability to look out for self. On the other hand ignorance or inability is not a very saintly characteristic. True saints die so early we have no acquaintance with them. The man who would pull down ability to help ignorance is a fool. There are lots of such in American politics and on the press. The work

of government is to keep power within useful limits to all and to build up ignorance to a condition to help itself. On the contrary our government has been in the hands of individualistic power alone until our natural kings have become usurpers and think they own the earth by means of bounties and tariffs, and a "let-alone" policy which is fast becoming dangerous to rich and poor alike. Only when the politicians want the votes of the discontented class do we hear a word for them from that source. It is singular the poor deluded creatures do not see that the political curs in the manger are "good Samaritans" before election, and Pharisees afterwards.

A social revolution is coming, and the sooner the better, if we can only hold the balance without bloodshed and destruction of property when we shall be arrayed against one another in this country, and if the balance of power shall be so close as to require a standing army of half a million men to keep peace, all the better. Such a condition will call forth the ablest brains in the country to represent the antagonistic forces, and keep the social equilibrium balanced. We are virtually composed of four classes of people.

1. The ups.
2. The coming-ups.
3. The comfortables.
4. The never-to-get-ups.

The first need to be watched and the last got rid of. They are the dangerous elements.

The reliable intelligence of the country and its safety lies chiefly in the "coming-ups." The comfortables are without ambition, have only medium intelligence, but can be depended on in an emergency. The first and the fourth class are the real abusers of justice. The never-to-get-ups is the class we want to root out altogether. Boldly, I say, they have no right to live. Why let them cumber the earth? They are a million times greater evil than the so-called "monopolization of the land" of the country by rich men. That we can regulate, but there is no power on earth that can make a thoroughbred out of a cur, be it human or animal. It is these "never-to-get-ups" and the terribly hoggish individualism of supreme ability with which socialism has to do. It is these

latter who are as threatening a danger as anything can be. At present there is but one way to reach these social evils that is practicable.

1. That is, for the people to do justice to all by an intelligent might. By nationalizing the railroads and all institutions of public carriers which are founded on stocks or bond issues by fair purchase.

2. The state should control the issuance of bonds or stocks by all legally incorporated institutions destined to put such on the market by expert inspection. Any corporation failing to pay its interest, or to redeem its promises at the time stated should be wound up by the government without consideration.

3. To forbid under penalty of long imprisonment all marginal sales or speculation in any stocks, bonds or products of the country in any way whatsoever. All sales must be of actual things as in any other business.

4. The just taxation of all real property on the same plane according to its nature, whether in actual use or not, and the confiscation of all land on which the taxes are not paid according to law.

5. A currency that can't be fooled with and that has no intrinsic value.

6. By intelligence of the highest kind in public office and retention in position during competency, in spite of the devil, combined with honesty instead of semi-ignorance and irresponsibility supported by political rascality. It is for the great majority, the "coming-ups" to bring these things about.

"THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."

What could have induced the fathers to have considered it necessary to declare that all men had an equal right to chase that "will-o'-the-wisp" happiness fad, is to me incomprehensible. No one ever thought of denying it! The old saying, "ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise" comes in very pat here. The condition known as happiness is very hard to define. The dictionaries know nothing about it. It is being so busily engaged in doing just what you want to that you are unaware of your own existence.

The native of the Tropics is happy lying on his back while stretching his leg out and catching a banana from the plant over him; he eats it without "thought of the morrow." We are unhappy the moment we become conscious of self-existence with nothing to do. I do not call reflection, or building "castles," nothing to do. The money-lover is happy when lost in speculation. He is unhappy when he is conscious he is not making money. The true scientist is happy when lost in research, and grudges the time when actual weariness calls "to sleep." But very few people, however, realize what happiness is, or how it is to be obtained. The real mother is happy when, lost in comparative forgetfulness of aught else, the maternal instinct calls her to nurse her babe. She is seldom happy and troubled with anxiety when that same instinct calls her to look out for its welfare. She is conscious of her existence and that of her young as well. The curse of the average semi-civilized world to-day, is that, aside from providing the means to live, it is occupied in seeking the means of happiness in sensuous excitation, in any way to get it. Its characteristic is sensuality instead of intellectuality. The secret of happiness is to lose self in the intellectual self, not in sensual hypnotics. The greatest demoralizer of to-day is that social inefficiency by which the people are on a continual hunt for some sensuous amusement in order to forget themselves. It is the outcome and accompaniment of the reign of the almighty dollar. Never, since the days of Roman grandeur, has the world given itself so over to sensual appetites as to-day. The clergy may deny it, but it has invaded the church in the form of sensational preaching and attractive music. Preaching is becoming a contributor to Sunday amusement as much as the misnamed "sacred concerts."

MACHINE POLITICS.

Thus far in the history of this country there has never been a naturalism division of the people politically: The real occasion has never before come. In other words, the struggle for individual existence has never really entered the arena of American life. It is coming. The

time is here. True leaders only are wanted. As the "ups," in the sense of over-self-protection represent the strongest individualization of intellect in the country, we find them pretty well aware of what is coming. They have been fortifying their position by buying politicians in any way to get hold of them, for a long time, probably ever since the secession war closed. So long as the Revolution lasted there were only the Patriots and the Tories. With the termination of the Revolution political life actually began in the United States. The real question then was what kind of a government shall we have? There always has been, and will be for ages, a certain portion of the people who have a great respect for the has-been. Their own intellectual lives are passed in the cranial houses of their ancestors. Such persons only see safety in the "tried methods of the past." The country was pretty well divided on that score at first and the Federalists, led by Hamilton, had strong support among the people. The Federalists advocated a strong central government with no inconsiderable recognition of its authority by the respective state governments. The course of history has shown they were right in principle. In national affairs our constitution must be so changed as to do away entirely with state representation and local constituency in every form.

Washington believed that this should be a nation, in which he was right. On the other hand, there was another division of the people led by Thomas Jefferson who called themselves "republicans." They believed in as little government as possible, and rarely that, were it not necessary to have inter-state communication. Had there not been common enemies and national rivalries, these people carried their ideas so far as to almost deny the necessity of government altogether. They were natural individualists after the strictest manner. The Federalists were national individualists in both a personal and national sense. They were far in advance of the others. In a late communication in the "Forum" Cabot Lodge claims that the present republican party took its origin in the federalistic, in which he is partly, if not wholly right. He is wrong in this; the Federal party of old was such because it could not shake itself entirely

free of English precedents in forming the government. It did not represent the spirit of the Revolution. It represented the "looking backward" of that day. It did not represent the republican party of to-day, because it did not represent the Ups entirely. It did not represent money and the power of money. All it represented was a reverence for British forms in government. Nothing more! They were no more the nationalistic "know-nothings" that republican individualism is now advocating than their opponents were. They were glad enough to open the country to the world. One thing characterized them, in which their later admirers fully concur. They were aristocrats, not of themselves, but because some one else had provided for them. The majority of them had no place for Thomas Paine. So far as ability was concerned and position in life, the other side, led by Mr. Jefferson, were fully the equal of the Federalists, and strange to say, they found their strongest hold in the states that denied flatly their leading principles in their actions, the slave states. Stranger inconsistencies than that often occur, as I shall soon show. The republicans were theoretically individualists. They looked on the national government as a sort of unfortunate necessity, and on state governments as but little better. Carried to an extreme, their idea was that every man has intelligence enough to be a government unto himself, and that government, so-called, is only necessary as a mediator between men to do the absolutely necessary common labor. In justice to these men it must be said they were carried away by the fetich of their time so grandly represented by Thomas Paine, the "equality of man," but they did not see, what I think Paine did, that that simply meant "justice" under the law, and not equality. Jefferson created a fetich which cost millions of dollars and untold misery. "State-rights." We have still another Jeffersonian fetich to get rid of, and that is that every American citizen is equal to any representative position. As an example of its evil, I need only to say that the educational boards in this country do not generally know enough of the principles of education to teach a Hottentot how to pound sand. My contempt for republicanism "as she is writ," cannot be put in language. I am anarchistic to rep-

representative government when it represents the ignorance and corruptibility of the country. I believe in Evolution instead of revolution, because I hate and despise misery, and all cataclysms cause misery. The democratic individualism of Jefferson was a natural result of the spirit of '76. It is entirely out of place now. Then came a singular turn of affairs. The negro became the "bone of contention" between the North and the South, but not for humanitarian reasons or justice in accordance with the spirit of '76. It was a question of supremacy in Congress because so many black men, I forget the number, counted as a "freeholder's" vote. That was the cause of the supremacy of the "Jeffersonian Democracy" for so many years. There was a sifting going on all this time according to geographical conditions and many so-called federalists became "democrats" and vice versa. Any one who will dare assert that Thomas Jefferson was the enemy of justice, that he believed in the supremacy of ignorance, is a liar. Yet that is what the democrats of to-day assert when they claim their party came straight from Jefferson. The North, or the republicans, cared no more for the darkey than the democrats did. The "nigger" was worth more than principle to the democrats because he counted as votes. He was worth less than principles to the republicans for the same reason. The negro owes the republican party as little as he does the democratic. They both sold him out to mammon and they both will do the same thing for the people at any time it suits their political purposes. The republican party claims too much. It did not save the Union. A united North did that with the exception of a small number of Judas Iscariot democrats. The exigencies of war and Abe Lincoln freed the darkey. The democrats did even more to do it than the republicans of the North. They forced the issue which the others tried to avoid. I challenge any republican to show when his party, since it first took its present name, represented justice to all men? I challenge any of them to show when the republican party would not have "rendered the black man back into slavery" on condition of peace, if the Southern States had agreed to consent to restrict slavery forever to the original slave

states? Let us have the plain facts. The war of State rights is over. The battle for individual justice is on again with renewed vigor. The republicans claim they and they only are the friends of the American wage-earners? Look at their history! When have they not been willing to sell out the laborers of this country after they have had their votes? If the wage-earners of this country are fools enough to believe that any body of men will look out for them, unless that body is of themselves and for themselves, they deserve all the misery and injustice they may get. Human nature is not made that way.

Before the war we saw another singular inconsistency. We saw the most ignorant and subservient people of the North join the party of despotism and injustice. We saw the one element Thomas Jefferson would have combatted join the party which clever political liars, or stupid fools, are trying to make us believe is still the party he would support. We saw the entire Irish vote of the North in the democratic party. If there is any affinity between Romanism and individualism, especially of Jefferson's deistic type, I cannot find it. If there is any affinity between the "light of reason," for which Jefferson declared, and the pitchy intellectual darkness of Romanism, please show it? That it suited the Roman hierarchy that their cohorts here should vote against justice and freedom of the black man should never be forgotten by the latter, nor should he forget that it is the same Democratic party, according to its own words, which is now talking about justice to the darkey. The thinking people of this country, those "coming up" do not want to forget that league between Romanism and Hell. The same political force that used the Irishman to vote against the "nigger is now trying to oust the Chinaman." Romanism! Rome gives the votes of her contemptible slaves to the politician because she had no success with the darkey and as far as the Chinaman goes his Confucianism is a heaven of light to the intellect-destroying darkness of Rome. Rome was not honest with her Irish tools! She never is! She led them to believe then as she does now, in the case of the Chinaman, that the freed "nigger" would come north and drive the Irish out. The only

objection to a Romanist is his abject ignorance, and his allegiance to a "theory" on earth that is worse than a "theory" in the Nowhere. Thinking men need to realize the truth. To drive the Chinaman out is to put a chain of Roman slavery about our necks. Next to continued agitation of the truth the Chinaman and the Jew are our best enemies to combat Romanism or theological tyranny. We can combat Protestantism with reason, but ignorance can never be met that way. President Harrison placed his republican fetich before his Presbyterian "theory" when he signed the "George Bill." That is a very encouraging sign of the times, however. Deacon Harrison should be tried for infidelity. He has broken the first commandment: "Thou shall have no other Gods before me."

It is this same democratic party, with its vote of ignorance, its saloon influence, its want of manhood, and undemocratic union with the enemies of justice, which is asking for the vote of the people in the name of justice to-day. Between the two old parties it is the "pot calling the kettle black," with this difference; the republican party represents entrenched ability and supra-individualism. The democratic party represents ignorance and depravity. It has never been democratic. The republican party is of the Ups for the Ups. It is for "Americanism" limited, like any other joint-stock company. It is not America for Americans, meaning all the people. The sifting has only begun. The republican party is the selfishness of life-success for itself. It will necessarily be unscrupulous in its methods. It wants men to do its work, but tools to execute it. Tom Reed is an example of the first, and Ben Harrison of the second variety. There are thousands in the present democratic ranks who are out of place and still more in the ranks of the republican. The "bloody-shirt" fetich holds them there for a time. They do not understand the nature of the "devil." They had better "live with a murtherin' alligator." The purchasable vote of the country, the vote of ignorance and crime, that of the enemies of advancement must yet go into the republican party. Ben Harrison made a bid for it when he signed the George Law. Let no one think the republican party is dead or

dying. It is only concentrating its tiger-like energies for a renewed spring at the throat of justice. The republican party represents successful individualism for itself without any self-protective intelligence. The rest of the people it will play for "suckers." That is all we want to know! We know our enemy. We can keep him ours if we want to. There is no wolf in sheep's clothing about the republican party. Its methods are wolfish, however. It is a natural product. It will live. All glory to it. Its methods are its own. We know them.

But, look out for the wolf in sheep's clothing, that "snake in the grass," the so-called democratic party. The democracy of the country needs to shake itself and get rid of all fetiches and corruption. The idea of a man with any self-respect, a man who has individualistic self-respect voting with the ignorance, the crime and crime-making force, with almost all the irresponsible elements in this country? If Grover Cleveland, Wm. Russell, and hosts of others do not know that they are worshiping a fetich or falsifying when they talk about the democratic party being that of Jefferson they are to be pitied. If such men do not know that an intelligent democrat and a Romanist cannot meet on a common ground any more than darkness and light, without one or the other carrying the day, then they know nothing. If they think justice can be attained by intelligence cohorting with theology in any shape they are mistaken. The only ideal a democrat can look up to is justice. Mr. Cleveland disclaims being a mugwump. He is right. A mugwump follows his own light in all things. Cleveland follows traditional democracy in some things. No matter what his faults may be, no matter if he is not a mugwump, Grover Cleveland is a monument of manly strength above his contemptible party and the truest democrat in public life to-day. Grover Cleveland is a political John the Baptist, straightening out the paths for the true democracy to enter in. How the old machine does shake and rattle under his sturdy honesty. Mr. Cleveland may make mistakes, but there is one glorious thing about him, he is so sterling honest that he can't possibly be dishonest to Grover Cleveland. Tom Reed is built the same way but works in the opposite direction. Cleveland is really a

socialist. He will deny it! Better than any other man in the country to-day he represents the individualism of the whole, the spirit of justice. Perhaps he will not desire to deny that. Tom Reed represents the almighty and great "I am" that is so egotistical it cannot see its own danger. That is the republican party.

Mr. Cleveland made the mistake of his life when he accepted the homage of the "Tiger," in Chicago. He shattered his crown when he ran on the machine ticket. The cat is clever. She has New York City at present, and will take whatever crumbs she can catch otherwise. To do this she will even sleep with a mugwump in peace. Don't trust her! Her claws are drawn in. That is all! What Cleveland should have done was to have run as Grover Cleveland, "Democratic candidate of the people," against all machines. He would have done more to free the people from the fetich of party adherence than any man may have an opportunity to for many years. He is part fetich himself. That part is what caused him to adhere to the machine. He lacked the genius necessary to have made himself the man fated with the destiny of the spirit of this last decade of this century.

A DEMOCRACY CANNOT BE A PARTY.

Another democratic fetich of the machine type, in fact the real inventor of the machine, was Andrew Jackson, who, while he may have been a true party man and undoubtedly a most patriotic one, demonstrated that he had no idea of the elements of a true democrat when he introduced that curse of modern politics "to the victor belongs the spoils," which is practically unconstitutional; for it punishes a man for his political views and throws him out of office no matter how competent he may be. To Jackson we owe the curse which has turned this nation largely into a den of ravenous wolves and made the "boss" the Tzar of American despotism. No democrat whom I know of seems to comprehend that machine politics are absolutely opposed to a true democracy which is, if anything, a government of the people, for the people, by the selected intelligence from the people. What, in fact, have the people to say about it? The nominations are made

by the machine which permeates caucuses and conventions with its slave-entangling wires. I do not care an iota what method the republican party takes to carry its ends. Overt individualism is permitted to go its way utterly regardless of the general welfare and to deceive and do what it can to carry its ends, so long as it can. But when, in the name of democracy, we see the same methods prevail and the power, in general, in the hands of individualists of a far more destructive type—the representatives of Rum, Ignorance and Demoralization—then it is time for true democrats to stop and think “where are we at?” It is nothing to the fact that, in order to carry and control the local rings, the machine bosses are willing to concede something or everything, to true democratic principles in so-called party platforms; it matters not if they are willing to concede to the purer democracy which is developing among us, the national candidates or the major part of them, I say the union of intelligence and virtue with machine-vice and ignorance cannot and must not stand. Purity in politics cannot touch the gudgeon grease of the machine without becoming defiled and defiling itself. I was amused when Mr. Cleveland declared he was not a mugwump. It is generally assumed that a mugwump is a “korus kind of a cuss” that simply kicks against everything to show his cussedness. That is wrong! A mugwump can be a republican, a democrat, or anything else. He is simply an individual who is true to his intelligence and follows the dictates of his own reason. He is the heretic in politics and theology. He is true to himself. Let me state the true rule of socialism again, which is the cardinal principle of a true democracy, to show how fully the two conform and fit into one another: A socialist is any individual whose sense of the true principle of self-protection is so fully developed that he knows that the best way to protect himself is to be strictly just to others and see that they are also so protected or can protect themselves as to be of no danger to himself. That means justice! That is intelligent individualism applied to the entire world, to individuals in daily intercourse, to village, state, national or international government. There can be no democracy where the people are so enslaved that all that is necessary is for

some self-elected "bosses" to make the party nominations in full knowledge (not faith) that the people who have worshiped the party fetich will bow down to the party block, and obey the bid of the bosses and vote the straight ticket. Party individualism is death to that manly individualism on which self-respect depends. In some way we must break the chains. How?

INTEREST REPRESENTATION.

As I have tried to impress on my readers all along, natural individualism, must necessarily and always does give the key to socialism. The republican party is now giving the key to a true democracy. The republican party is becoming, if it has not become, the representative of entrenched individualism in the country. Let us not disparage it. It is "all right," for itself. It represents the "Ups" and they have "got there" by their own abilities and are doing their mightiest to stay there. They represent the successful self-looking-out-for brains of the United States in the monetary sense. Now what do they do? Do they send men to Congress to represent them who know nothing about their business and have no interest in it? No! they send their own paid lawyers or else members selected from their own guild. In other ways, they illustrate to us the value of interest representation. They count on the republicans sent by the people as "their meat" because they know they will stand by the fetich, "my party." The old party which saved the Union, and yet did not. They are sure of the "boys" (political "wah-hosses") who are elected to Congress because they supply the sinews of war by which such vultures live. Think of it, ye American citizens, who boast of the "best government on earth!" Think what slaves ye have become! Think what fetiches ye worship! Because it was, a century since, it must be now. Pretty reason why a man should vote either one ticket or another. Slaves do that! The Australian system may let a man vote as his party and his own ignorance dictates and not allow manipulation at the polls by opponents, but all the laws which can be enacted cannot make a man out of the contemptible chain-gang of party

slaves that this nation has generally become. Only education, selection and good-breeding can undo the evil.

FALSE AMERICANISMS.

Political life in the United States, both in the people and their representatives, is fast approaching that cataclysmatic condition which portends something more than quiet evolution. That condition is national dishonesty. Not only are the people so ignorant that they are deceiving themselves, but they are so blinded by partisan rivalry that they will not see the truth when before them. There is no denying the fact that not only here, but in all civilized countries the world is preparing for a social revolution. Unlike most works of the kind the tendency of this book is evolutionary. It is an endeavor to open the eyes of the people that they may put on the brakes of intelligent common sense. The inciting danger is not in those inclined to revolt, but in those against whom the revolt is threatened. The danger is in the want of self-protecting caution and a tendency to reckless disregard of self on the part of what is best termed entrenched ability in its relation to the wage-earner and public generally. As sure as the sun rises and sets, entrenched ability and the mass aside from them are now repeating the story of the war of secession. Both are being played for pawns by the politicians who at the same time play their game in favor of entrenched ability, or the mass, as they think it will serve them best. The whole people are exactly in the position of the darkey in the late war. "I is de bone ober which bot' dem polityks is fightin'." In other words, the politician who plays the people and that is really the majority, puts one element against another and believes he will "pull out all right and leave the fools to fight it out" as one of the shrewdest of them recently said to me when I talked to him as I am writing: "Politics, my dear sir, is like any other business; it's all gambling, heads I win, tails you lose, don't yer see?" There have always been times in the history of humanity when individualism appears to have entrenched itself to such an extreme degree as to excite a most threatening

and irritable condition in the masses. No one can exactly explain how it comes about, but individualism, though really representing the most aggressive self-protecting intelligence in the country, seems to have fairly gone "daft" in its aggressiveness and to defy the masses and irritate them in every way possible. One of the most surprising phenomena in such a condition of things is the bold effrontery with which individualism will insult the common sense of socialism—that is the way to state it, and how a certain element in the masses, the over-respectable element, swallows the bait, hook and all. In a very strong sense, as previously noted, the republican party represents this inordinate and aggressive individualism. Speaking only of the people and not the politicians the democratic party really is so demoralized, fortunately, that it represents nothing. The theoretic tradition worshipping portion of the democratic party, which has any respectability, largely belongs with the republicans. There is a big mugwump element, which only represents the truth. There is a big contingency of democrat sheep which represent nothing but the whip of the boss. Then there is the revolutionary element, including populists and wage-earners, etc. It is like an engine without a governor. All they do appreciate is, that somehow they think it their duty to themselves, to hit the head of ability whether or no.

All of these elements claim to be "American" and to be inspired by "American principles;" if any one on earth has acuteness enough to tell what they are. At present, and even historically, the only phenomenon in American life which has made itself extra-prominent over life in the older countries, has been the free play of that individualism which is crude-natural, and which goes recklessly ahead with utter disregard of itself in any intelligent direction.

It is because the east has arrived at maturity enough and has some stable intellectual inheritance, and retains a little regard for individual and public honesty and self-protection that the uncouth and unintelligent far west howls about the "effete east" and is in such a revolutionary condition to-day. Here is a specimen of western ignorance and effrontery :

THE CRADLE OF GREAT MEN.

[From the Chicago Inter-Ocean.]

"The typical Americans have all been western men, with the exception, let us say, of Washington. Washington had not had much of European culture. The qualities that made him a great commander and a great president were qualities which would have made him an equally great frontiersman. You cannot imagine Hamilton, or Madison, or Livingston, or John Adams, or the Pinckneys living tolerably on the frontier. They are not Americans in the sense in which Clay and Jackson and Lincoln are Americans. We may wish that the typical Americans of the past had had more knowledge, a more cultivated appreciation of the value of what was old and established, a juster view of foreign nations and foreign politics; that they had been more like Webster and less like Jackson; and we may hope that the typical American of the future will be wiser and better poised. But in the mean time the past is to be understood and estimated as the facts stand, and only a thoroughly sympathetic comprehension of these men who have actually been the typical Americans will enable us to effect that purpose. The fact that Clay, rather than Webster, Jackson and not John Quincy Adams, represented the forces which were really predominant and distinctively American in our development is commentary enough on any theory that makes either of the peculiar sections of the Atlantic seaboard the principal or only theater of American history."

The above is all emotional nonsense. It is local egotism. Egotism is the self-conceit of mediocrity pluming itself on its relation to the has-been. Egoism is the confidence of self-knowledge. While life in America has necessarily called for the development of some human characteristics to a degree that life in the older countries seldom does, still every one of those idiosyncrasies are common to the race and certain to be called out under similar circumstances in individuals. I care nothing about the "Westernism" in the above any more than the Americanism. Both are absolutely false and misleading. A man's a man wherever born, whatever his color, when

he acts like one and in corresponding degree. Some might assert, and it would be partially true, that Americanism has not produced any great scientists, or philosophers, but that is because we have not developed to that condition in which they would find support among us. Only "gentlemen of fortune" can afford to play with the problems of life in this country at present. The present dangers will not pass, however, without calling forth greater philosophical leaders than the world has ever seen, so far as freedom from tradition and "seeds" of the truth goes, both here and in Europe. Great necessity calls forth great men. Locality never! Our "revolution" certainly called out two of the most plain and profound leaders the world has ever known, Paine and Franklin; as well as men of distinguished ability in other lines, as leaders and agitators; such as Patrick Henry, Washington, Jefferson, The Adamses (strange to say few people seem to know that "Sam" was a giant in comparison to John Adams), Hancock, Morris, Otis, Hamilton, etc. What I wish to show is, that while heredity produced the men as members of the human family (do not forget they were nearly if not all only a generation or so from being Englishmen), and they were all eastern men (the west was "effete" then) that neither of these things "made them." The times, the necessity, called them forth. In our coming emergencies, leaders will come from the east and the west, the north and the south, from the prairies and the forges, the last and the mill, the bar and the pulpit. After all they will come from men first, occupation second, and locality will really be the place of their accidental birth and the environment which may offer the peculiar necessity to influence the direction which their special genius will display.

One of the peculiar moves of both politicians and crude individualism in such emergencies as at present, is to endeavor to detract the attention of the people away from themselves and their own interests by anything which apparently has a general interest. The country is full of such rumors, and has been for some years. The alarm increases in direct ratio to the awakening intelligence of socialism, and the appreciation of the approaching danger by individualism—such a "wolf" cry is:

"PATRIOTISM OR AMERICANISM."

"Stand by your flag!" It all looks well, emotionally to have a flag-staff before every school-house and the "Star Spangled Banner" waving triumphantly every morning. The intent of those who have directly caused it to be done is creditable from the emotional standpoint, though they do not realize that such an act is but the reverence of ignorance to that traditional savagery, the individualism of nations, marked by war, and bloodshed, and misery. In reading this over to a gentleman he said, "The old saying 'familiarity breeds contempt' is resulting from the daily display of our flag. It was a great deal better to have displayed the flag as of old on historic days. My own children show this." On the other hand, the indirect agency behind the patriotism, which controls the press, has been and is the sensitive entrenched individualism of the country. The more it sees its own danger, the more it fears the consequences of its own aggressiveness, the more it fears socialism, the louder does it cause the "wolf" cry of patriotism to be taken up by the press.

Now what is patriotism? Patriotism is but another name for nationalism. Philosophically and with common sense, patriotism is that appreciation of a general danger, which instigates all sensible people to unite as one man in self-defense of the common household.

Anything short of such a danger, does not demand, or call for either patriotism or education in its principles.

Let us now test the generally accepted idea of patriotism, which tends to put country before self, by the natural individualistic law of self-protection, leaving out of consideration the physiological law.

Any action of an individual towards another, or of any community towards another, which tends to call forth a reaction on the part of the party acted on dangerous to the party acting, is dangerous to the self-protectiveness of both parties, and hence immoral.

It can be put down as an unassailable and axiomatic moral law, that any sentiment, any coercion of the individual by the mass, which either threatens to or succeeds in interfering with individual self-protectiveness is

dangerous, to that extent, to the community. It may also be put down as equally axiomatic that every overt act of super-individualistic nature is liable to be dangerous to the party acting, by causing a reaction on the part of the party acted on. Think of the savagery of a national sentiment which tends to separate men and interferes with that freedom of social and commercial intercourse which must come in the end, and by and through which an intelligent individualism will almost settle its own difficulties, leaving to socialism to do those things for all which no one individual can do even for himself to the same advantageous degree. Do not forget that in the above law of socialism is the natural limitation of the powers of government. To justly carry out the principle requires profound intelligence and no political divisions which nourish special interests or sections, and engender geographical jealousies in every direction possible. Think of the absurdity, aye, the indescribable accursedness of the republican policy of educating a spirit of hatred in the growing youth of the North, by hoisting the "bloody shirt" of a dead issue before them. There is more of this in the North than in the South to-day, as I know by personal experience. The only reason for it is that it pays politically. It gives the republican party the old soldiers' vote, by which it saddles the pension steal and tariff robbery on the people. If the people of this country were a "Christian nation" as they claim; if they had an iota of common intelligence as to the value of the law of self-protection, they would bury the republican party so deep that the reverberations of the war of the rebellion could not be found on a page of human history. The inconsistency of these "bloody-shirt," cut-throats is wonderful. They claim they fought the war to preserve the Union, which we will allow, with the proviso, that it was a solid North against a solid South which did the fighting. To-day we see American citizens, members of the party who "saved the Union" doing their utmost to rend it asunder, or keep it asunder by howling "bloody shirt," and even educating their children that Americanism north of the Mason-and-Dixon line is an entirely different article than patriotism south of that defunct boundary. This kind of patriotism, this genera-

tion of geographical hatred, is used as a lever to hold the republican party together. Without the pension robbery there would be no excuse for that second suicide, the protective tariff.

Exactly the same kind of contemptible Americanism is kept up as a reminder of the Revolution. Ignorant as the Irish tailor and with far less reason, thousands of Americans still howl, "Where's the bloody Englishman phwat will trid on th' tails o' me coat? I'm dyin' for a batin'." Such people are drunk with the egotism of nationalistic ignorance. Has not the time gone by for such barbarism? Because geographical conditions and individual location cause some people to be born in Great Britain, others in Ireland, others in North America, Europe, Asia, or Australia, should such an accident of birth, forever and forever prevent these people from coming together and acting as they do between themselves? The terrible falsehoods which republicans force themselves to swallow to force their inhumane selfishness down the throats of the people in the name of patriotism, are enough to show the fallacy of their position. What do a people who overcame nature, and have mastered her as those living in America have; the men of the West who rightly boast of what they have done in building Chicago and other cities; the men of the East, who point with pride to the way their fathers conquered the stone-clad vicissitudes of New England; what do such men want of protection against the very nations from whose loins they sprang?

Verily—"where are we at?" Is this the twentieth century of "brotherhood of civilization or the cannibalistic wilds of Africa?

What is wanted is a broadly intelligent people and not a narrow, villainously selfish nationalism. Think of the utter absurdity of the condition in Europe daily portending the savagery of war! Think of people in each country calling on "God the Father" to enable them to fight the quarrels and hatreds and contemptible rivalries of local tribes that lived 1800 years ago! That is what it means! Monarchy is not the cause of it. These hatreds and these wars really began in the rivalries of Cæsar's generals, in command of local tribes, as they became kings on the breaking up of the Roman Empire. These insane hatreds

have become national and in the name of that absurdity, patriotism, the women of Europe are becoming mothers to feed cannon loaded by the hatreds of past centuries and touched off by the assinine ignorance of this. And we, the great American people, also desire to add fuel to the flame by a savage tariff! We do not like them a bit when directed against our pork, our beef, our corn. We are a brave and noble people, exclusively made so by being born on American soil. So contemptibly cowardly are we, that when other nations hit us by protection, when Britain hits our beef with the same kind of political lies that we tell, instead of "standing up to the rack and taking our medicine like men," we fall down like cowards and squeal like any cur.

There is a little phase of this patriotism farce I would like to expose by an example. As repeatedly said, the Northern people (Southerners will soon see why they are excluded) call themselves a Christian people; they profess to believe in that "theory," the "brotherhood of man." When did they ever carry it into practice when liable to interfere seriously with what they assumed to be their immediate self-protectiveness? Garrison, Sumner, Phillips, Parker and the abolitionists called on the people in vain to stick to their colors in favor of the black man. Did they?

Now suppose (it is a supposable case) there had been no geographical rupture on the Southern side for the principle of local self-government, or on the Northern for submission to one general government, and that honestly, in the spirit of Christianity, as manifest in the theory of human brotherhood, Great Britain had said to our Southern States, "Here; you free those slaves now, free them right off, or I'll make you," and the South, not doing so, John Bull sent his fleets and armies to force the South to be true to the principles taught in every church in the country, presumably for man universal. Naturally "our flag" would have been in danger and North and South would have united as against a common foe. But the abolitionists had said, "No! God is greater than country," and gone on the British ships and with the British army and fought

"For God and their brother man,"

would they have been traitors or not? Would the government of the United States have been justified in confiscating their estates and hanging or shooting them if captured in arms against their country?

Which side of the dilemma the Christian politician and Christian old soldier will put himself on in relation to patriotism and that question will be amusing!

We leave it open for an answer!

Who dares face the verdict of history and declare those men, the saints of abolition, what they were once declared to be, "scoundrels and traitors to the constitution?"

I will venture one prophecy. If any one does it, it will be a republican and a Northerner who will "deny his Lord." It will never be a Southerner who will be so false to the best principles of human character. The location of the slave states as well as the masters and the color of the slaves have changed. The slaves are mostly white; the masters white; they are largely in the republican party and live North of the once disputed line. The democratic party has its percentage. The Populist party is full of them. Though free from party traditions in the old sense, they are more the slaves of a "theory" than ever.

We are even now in the midst of just such a muddle in connection with the Hawaiian question. The policy of the late republican administration was in favor of slavery, as stated, and to cover up the extension of white slavery in the North it endeavored to blind the people by loud cries of "Americanism" and a "Brilliant foreign policy" which came near bringing on the savagery of war several times; which would have given occasion for still more fraudulent service pension lists. True to his magnificent manhood, which rises above the narrow limits of Americanism into the broad world of humanity and justice, Mr. Cleveland tries to undo the wrong. As shrewd, but unprincipled politicians, the republican leaders and press saw that unless headed off, by stampeding the people, by the wild cries "Americanism," "Flag hauled down," "America's children deserted" and such stuff, Mr. Cleveland would receive genuine credit, which would redound to his contemptible party, from every true man and woman in the country, who saw the dangers of costly foreign

complications and the eventual rubbing out of an innocent people. No man with a grain of common sense will deny that the republican administration under a certain Mr. Harrison was the most indescribably rascally this country ever saw. In order that a certain class of politicians could secure a foreclosure on the public purse of the country indefinitely, if possible, the administration, and its organs, howled "Pan-Americanism"—(as if an intelligent man cared what went on in priest-ridden South America and among a degenerate Spanish population which is a worse barrier in the face of true civilization than the native Indians) and kept up a public clamor about "American commerce for Americans," when all there is of it, is not worth our trade with England alone, or a possible trade with the great consuming countries of Europe and China and Japan. Then they howled—Republicanism, as if those contemptible people ever had shown even as much ability to govern themselves, or be of use to anybody on earth as we ourselves. In the meantime they looted the treasury, and bought the votes of a demoralized and contemptible soldiery that never smelt fire—(I would double, or treble, the pension of the real soldier who was injured in the war, or of the widow who lost her all, or the aged mother who sent "her only son to the front," but not a dollar for service and no injury), by their service pension-bills. They turned a portion of the nation into an organized band of thieves, and demoralized the public service as never before. Next, they bought the manufacturers of the country by giving them a robber tariff! To benefit the manufacturers? Oh, no! Their villainy was deeper! To give the politicians of the republican party a hold on the manufacturers so that they could be squeezed for forthcoming campaigns to keep the republican gang in office. The manufacturers were so blind; they were so carried away with their wonderful patriotism; their eyes were so blinded by "Pan-American reciprocity" spectacles, that they failed to see, respectable citizens as most of them are, that their own selfishness had allowed them to become victims of the politicians. Once in, with a looted treasury, the only hope for the republican politicians is the money to be squeezed from the manufacturers to carry on campaigns and to retain the offices. The only

hope of the manufacturers to get even with the politician is, through his aid, to rob the people by a continuation of the McKinley tariff or something akin to it. Assuming the people are fools, the republican press now howls "Americanism" louder than ever over the Hawaiian matter, and accuses the democrat party of having looted the treasury and being the cause of financial distress for which the democrats, as such, are no more to blame than the writer, in order to detract the attention of the "fool-people" from the malicious wickedness of the republican party. Read from a republican paper:

"Going back a few years in our national history, old settlers will remember that, at the close of Buchanan's administration the treasury was empty and no one would loan the government money for a less rate of interest than 12 per cent. The present administration is not unlike its venerable predecessor in a financial point of view, and proves that history will repeat itself, if it has the opportunity."

There are two villainies perpetrated in that. The attempt is first made to detract the people's attention from the republican villainy by swinging the "red shirt" of a dead issue, and feeding an inhuman local hatred, in order to throw blame on the Cleveland administration. Any one knows, that though this government is not a "paternalism," the American people are still unweaned, and hang about as hard on the government teat, and blame it alone for their own sour stomachs, as seems to have been the custom of all peoples since we have historical record. Here is an instructive editorial squib from the republican press:

"AGAINST AMERICA'S CHILDREN."

"The attitude of Blount and Willis, the two democratic ministers at Honolulu since the advent of Mr. Cleveland at the White House, has been persistently hostile to the interests of the American-born or descended population of the Sandwich Islands. It is doubtless the first instance in all history where the hand of a great nation has been uplifted against its colonial children on foreign soil. It is true that George III. undertook to discipline the Ameri-

can colonies more than a hundred years ago, but there was no question of the jurisdiction of England in America, for the colonies had never been under the rule of any other power with the exception of New York, and that had been an English colony for a hundred years.

"In the case of Hawaii, however, there is no original right of interference and the very government that Cleveland has declared must be overturned is the only government there that ever asked Uncle Sam to rule over the islands. For this terrible offense, while Mr. Cleveland now pretends at home he will not upset the government by force of arms, up to this date he has let it believe that he intends to do so and has put the government to immense expense and to the greatest moral peril in endeavoring to maintain its existence and stay the tide of ignorance and depravity against which it was the organized revolt in January last."

In reality, among other republican colonization schemes, this Hawaiian affair may be counted. As to Mr. Cleveland's endeavor to set things right they were surely very strongly humane and in accordance with the traditional and safe "non-interference" policy of this country. Under the circumstances, on general principles, he attempted to do right. But that is not the question at issue in this emotional plea "against America's children." In this argument, I put myself in the place of the "Kanaka" or Sandwich Islander. They are in exactly the same position as the American Indian—and the natives of Africa and Australia, and every other race that cannot compete with the Aryan-Germanic where it puts its overpowering feet, whether by consent or not. I know that the Sandwich Islands are the boast of the missionaries. Let them get all the credit they can out of it. The day the natives took the first missionary into their arms, no matter what his interest may have been, they hugged a serpent to their bosom, whose venom will never cease until they are exterminated or driven, as a miserable remnant, to other islands, or as paupers, made to live a life of slavery. Christianity and Anglo-Saxons are the most inhuman thing which can be introduced to a wild and uncontaminated people. Let them be cannibals. They will continue better off than with the condiments

which accompany Christianity! First and above all is the mercenary and merciless Saxon. Next, Saxon vices, intemperance and syphilis. Next destruction! All this talk about the immoralities of the queen is pure nonsense. She is as "good" as her people—and I am not afraid to assert that her liaisons are no worse than those of Europeans among the native maidens. The male animal does not change his character with the color of his skin or locality where he lives. He is generally worse when away from home. But, and here is the question. This is not a colonizing nation. We have still land and to spare. Unlike Great Britain we have no surplus population, that it is necessary to get rid of, except vice and inability. That American colony went there at its own risk, one by one, and settled. It did not go there for sentiment. It went for money. In the face of all sentiment, I declare that every man who went there forfeited his citizenship and all rights to our protection when he went. But the English and the Germans had the same privilege, as well as the Chinese and Japanese. There sits the poor simple-minded and listless native looking on, under his hut or trees, wanting little, and least of all work, and seeing his patrimony slowly being taken away from him. The whole bottom to this affair is this, as a single colony, the American, is the largest; the English the next, the rest are not equal to them both. The American influence has been supreme. It feared Mr. John Bull would put in his grasping hand, and preferred to run its own politics at Uncle Sam's expense. It is all nonsense to assume that the people at home have to pay for protecting every band of colonizing adventurous land-pirates that leave this country on such expeditions. They are really no more worthy of consideration than a set of "American," citizens who take a vessel and under the stars and stripes go on a freebooting expedition among the islands of the Pacific where no white men have settled. It is the same thing! should we defend them? Perhaps so! But, if we did, we would be very liable to get into the international courts. The only reason England kept quiet with regard to the Sandwich Islands is that she would have all the advantages as a naval station there, and none of the expense, if the

usurpation turned the local government over to our hands. It matters little what happens, so far as the natives are concerned. Their agony will be protracted longer under their queen than any foreign government. They are distantly connected with our Indians. Before they can be made self-protective by labor they would perish from other causes. Saxon energy would never wait for them. It has already replaced them by Chinese or Japanese on its plantations. If it had the government this would only go on much more rapidly. It is therefore evident:¹

1. That American adventurers on southern or other islands have forfeited their citizenship and have no right to American support.

2. That if home governments are "Christian nations," as they claim, in a human sense, the best thing they can do is to keep their people at home, or at least do nothing to add to the evils already pressing hard on the natives. Let such adventurers go at their own risk, as the Pilgrims originally came to this country. It is not until the plunder is worth stealing that these nationalization schemes appear. Everything that can possibly be of use to distract the attention of the people from the main issue—which is really an intelligent and business-like government, and thus favor the methods and desires of the politicians and individualism, is continually trumped up. The press belongs to the enemies of the people. They have not one intelligent representative in the daily press. Their case is better among the weeklies and monthlies.

The most malignant development of the "Americanism" fraud is, however, to be seen in connection with the protective tariff question. If there is a wage-earner in the world who is such an idiot as to think that the laws of nature have changed only in a protected manufacturer, and that a man, or men, who have made their "millions" by their extreme ability to look out for themselves, are

¹ In justice to the republicans it is only necessary to say that had the boot been on the other foot the democrat press and politicians would have been as much against Hawaii as they are now apparently for those people. Cleveland and a few individual men in that party would be the only exception. Americanism is a disease of both parties.

suddenly changed to such altruists that their only interest is in their laborers, that wage-earner can make a fortune by exhibiting himself as "the fool of the century." When a human being has any more market-value (seldom as much) than a horse, when the price of wages is not regulated by the quantitative supply and demand of and for laborers then the millennium of human imbecility will have arrived and the first law of nature will not be "Every man must take care of himself." Then indeed will the Farmers' Alliance "theory" God help those who have not the ability to help themselves. If the wage-earner and consumer, in fact, if every citizen of the United States, would only consider this tariff question, and every political question in the sense advised by Thomas Paine, that is, think and act for themselves, regardless of any sentimental nonsense of obligations to country or to others, which have no actual existence, the question would be settled at once and a more moral social equilibrium established which will not be seen for years, simply because the American people—except the ultra-individualists—are so terribly sunken in ignorance and tradition worship that they are more in the bondage of their masters than even the most rabid anarchistic editor can describe.

In order to show to what profound depths of mental and individual degradation the people of this country have generally fallen, I quote a portion of a letter to Mr. Cleveland, from a republican, and published in a republican paper. The man describes not only himself, but the voting back-bone of his own party, and every ignorant slave, be he a Jacksonian or Jeffersonian, or merely so little of a man that he has no conception what he is, that votes the democratic ticket in the party sense. Read, ye proud and independent American :

"And now, to be frank with you, Mr. President, I shall affirm that I am a republican. I have not even a leaning toward the populist element which environs me. I inherited my republicanism from my father, imbibed it from my mother's breast and have been confirmed in the faith by the twenty or more years that have lapsed since first I began to reap lessons from passing political events."

The above describes the creatures who get the offices in this country.

Turn out the idiots from the asylums; put the party ticket in their hands and the party ring about their necks, and you have the model American citizen. No wonder the question of "Universal Suffrage" is becoming serious. It is such idiots as that who forge the chains moulded for them by their respective bosses. Bah! What shall I say! Such a thing as that is too contemptible to be treated with the notice it is necessary to give him to prevent the coming generations from falling into the same ditch. That is an American citizen!

"Alas! How are the mighty fallen."

"To what degradation have we come!"

Is that the magnificent individualism which characterized Jefferson? Would the fathers consider such a thing as that had an equal right to anything but an asylum? The writer of the above is almost sure to be an "old soldier"; a rabid lunatic who wears the "bloody shirt." Such vile democratic sheets, such enemies to human advancement, such scandals to the name of a true democracy, as the New York "Sun" preach the same kind of stuff. Croker and the Tammany magnates fatten on it. Satan forged the chains and the politicians weld them in cold blood on the necks of their willing and brainless slaves. A well-bred dog would rebel at any such insult to his individuality. Cur! I spurn thee. Thou art not even a man. Neither in the image of man, nor as the misty film of a populist "theory" wert thou made. No, you are not a "populist." Mistaken as those people are in many things, their action is the uprising of a self-respecting manhood against customs which enslave men to the party machine—as indicated in that letter. Such monstrosities as that are the spikes with which the protected interests and politicians clinch the shackles on the people, preventing them from trading where and with whom they please. Such things as that are the patriotic fools caught by the wolf cry—"America for Americans." It should be "perdition to all know-nothings." Have we any common sense left as a people? It would seem not! Is it impossible not to insult it and cause an indignant popular uprising against the publication of such "rot" as the following, in hundreds of republican papers? The

same drivel is uttered on stump and in legislative halls by republican politicians.

Read :

“ President Cleveland wants the law amended so that it will be easy for his secretary of the treasury to issue bonds. He wants to borrow money to run the country on, instead of making the foreigner who sells his goods here pay his share of the taxes.”

Just think of that, American wage-earners, and consumers! According to your only true friends, the protectionists, a protective tariff is a flimsy illusion woven by those eternal enemies of all humanity, the “free-traders.” Our ports are open, throttle-wide, to the pauper labor of Europe. Now we do know what causes the hard times. It is protection which does not protect. Really, it is incomprehensible to what depths we must have fallen that representative editors and “statesmen” (?), with our free public education, dare tell us that we have not sense enough not to swallow such a self-evident falsehood as the above. What a good fellow the foreign manufacturer must be? We all should emigrate at once! It is possible, however, that with a little republican machine oil he might be induced to “pay the freight” as well, like the celebrated Jones who deals in scales in New York.

Let us see! A takes a steamer from New York and goes to Berlin to buy goods. At the hotel he meets B from London, England, who is in the same business. They compare notes and decide that among the German manufacturers they had better call on C first, as, buying at the same time, they might get better terms than by going alone. C is pleased to see them, and, desiring to introduce his goods into both countries, gives them bottom prices. A and B purchase the same amounts and the same kind of goods. They start home, each paying freight, but A pays forty-five per cent. duty besides in New York, while B pays none at London. C has his money for the goods in his factory at Berlin. By what process of political legerdemain can A sell his goods to Americans at the same price B does to Englishmen, making allowance for the small difference in freight existing for the extra distance to New York? How dare any one insult the intelligence of the American working classes and consumers by saying that the “foreigner who

sells his goods here pays his share of the taxes?" He does not pay one cent towards anything in America. In the face of such falsehood, aye, imbecility, hundreds of thousands of American citizens swear by the republican party and flaunt political stuff like that in our faces, and tell us that "you free-traders ought to be hung." It is not long since that a constant reader of the "Boston Journal" inferred that I was "an idiot" because I could not see that "the foreigner paid the duty." Perhaps I am! Here is another beautiful case of how the manufacturer loves his countrymen and protects American labor, and the law favors the American consumers:

PROTECTION BENEFITS THE FOREIGNER AT THE EXPENSE OF AMERICANS.

"To the Editor of the Boston Journal:

"Will you kindly explain the following, which was printed some weeks ago in the Leeds 'Mercury':

"The Royal Axminster carpets are made in a loom originally patented in America, and these fabrics have become very popular, and the machinery for their production has of late years been largely increased. The Americans have apparently taken note of this, and the exigencies of over-production and other circumstances have led to their placing their own Axminsters before the English buyers at a price which has astonished the home trade. How this is being done appears to be due partly to the rebate the American producer gets, or will get, from his own Custom House when exporting his goods, this being said to be far more than equivalent to what was paid as duty on the raw material. As a matter of fact, we are told that no goods have actually been sent from America yet, but the rebate referred to has been arranged, and orders are being solicited, and some have been already secured on the strength of the patterns shown and the prices quoted."

"INQUIRER."

"[The explanation is in part suggested by the paragraph itself. American manufacturers, whose product has been very greatly cheapened by means of improved machinery, and through a somewhat sharp competition, made a venture in the English markets. They were aided in this

experiment by the rebate provision of the McKinley law, which gave them, practically, free wool for the product to be exported, by remitting 99 per cent. of the duty collected on it. In the old days of a low tariff we used to import all of our carpets. Under protection we have developed an industry which supplies the home market at lower prices than used to prevail, and can occasionally market its surplus abroad.—ED. JOURNAL.]”

The foreigner is enabled then to buy American goods for 99 per cent. less than the American wage-earner and consumer, so far as that 99 per cent. represents imported materials used in the manufacture of the goods. That is, “the rebate provision of the McKinley law, which gave them the (manufacturer) practically free wool for the product to be exported, by remitting 99 per cent. of the duty collected on it.” This exceeds the generosity of the foreigner who “pays the duty.” He sells to his own people under about the same conditions as he does to foreigners. The competition of trade commands that. But the American manufacturer is paid by this government “of the people” (by whom and for whom it is not now conducted is evident) 99 per cent. back on all imported material used in the article for the benefit of the foreign consumer. The republican editor tells us that that is only to get rid of our “surplus.” What is the moon made of? Some of us have travelled outside of the United States, and have seen American reapers, mowers, locomotives, watches, etc., selling at a good profit, as admitted by agents, in competition with European. Not because of the pauper labor in Europe or high-priced labor in America, but because the necessities of American conditions and scarcity of labor (being high) had called forth human ingenuity which by machinery can produce at prices that even pauper labor cannot compete against. But the American must pay the duty on the extra cost of these things to him.

The real purpose of this work is to awaken the ability of the country to an intelligent appreciation of the fact that their very sensitive financial barometer is causing them to exercise an over-self-protectiveness (natural individualism) by which they are in danger of digging their own graves and pulling thousands of innocent people in

with them. It is to protect them against the revolution their unnecessary hoggishness is liable to cause among the masses. The masses are thinking as never before. Education was never so extended. They cannot be fooled all the time. There is a young native ability which is beginning to "feel its oats." It is noted for one particular thing; that is, a most cynical disrespect of traditional methods. A gray-head with nothing in it, no matter who owns it, receives mighty little respect. Children are beginning to ask, "how much they owe their parents in reality?" It is beginning to be known that there are more kinds of fools than young ones on earth. That there are old fools who have forgotten all they knew, and it is often questioned if they ever "did know very much anyhow?" This is an age that really adores kings, but not kings by tradition or descent. It is the coming king, the one who gets up every morning and makes his way to public confidence by his acts, whom we respect. Kings who tell us "See what I have done for you," we have no use for. We give them a bottle of traditional milk and a nurse and put them on the shelf. The world wants kings who say "See, I will show you how to win! Come follow me and we all win together," not such as say, "Let us see how our fathers did before we go ahead." During these financial troubles, which it is now evident had but an alarmistic and indirect connection with the Sherman Act, and have only the same with the Tariff question, the protected manufacturers have taken every advantage of the hard times, not only to save themselves, which is right, but to keep up the robber protection, which is wrong, by trying to alarm their laborers by turning them out or shutting down on the plea that "it was the Tariff entirely." Suppose they had caused riot and revolt by such acts, they would expect the public to defend them? The wage-earner who swallowed such falsehoods, the wage-earner who believes in such unnatural generosity and reckless disregard of self especially in such times as we have had (93-94), is too big an idiot to be allowed free on our streets. The times have been hard, it is true, but the cause is far deeper than silver coinage, or the Wilson Tariff Bill, or the Democratic administration. It is first and foremost in the general ignorance of the people; in the na-

tional depravity in things political; in the absurd idea that any fool knows enough to do the public business; in the speculative opening of this country, as an asylum, for all the inability and depravity of Europe coupled with their terrible multiplication and our own increase of the same kind. And forget it not. Next to this multiplication of the wage-earning classes, by which they are cutting their own throats and every child produced increasing the throat-cutting tendency, there is in America a far greater competitor for anything but labor of the highest ability, one which will down all ordinary ability, than the pauper labor of Europe. That is, the wonderful machinery, the result of the excessive inventive ability called forth by American conditions and the great records of mechanical ingenuity. People may not realize it, but we are in the midst of conditions, when a due regard for the unovercomable and primary Law of Self-protection cannot be neglected. Invention leads labor up, but it is killing on the incapables. The citizen who has an intelligent conception of this law must see that all interests are his interests. That, if an employer of labor he cannot ignore the just relation of the laborer to his interests, nor can the intelligent wage-earner fail to see that the prosperity of the employer bears the closest relation to his own self-preservation. So this all-pervading law penetrates every interest of producer and consumer. There is no need of trouble, but there will surely be unless there is a more intelligent regard for self-interest developed in all classes of citizens. Study the other fellow in relation to yourself and yourself in relation to the other fellow, and this trouble would soon settle itself. Drop all leaders and all authorities and act like a man. Above all, the common enemy of us all is the machine politician, the machine press, and the machine pulpit. Freedom in all things under the natural limitation of the laws of nature, regardless of the prejudice and traditional ignorance is the only road to the national establishment of social individualism and the law of self-preservation, as the first and only moral obligation of every individual in the state and the state itself.

THE DEMOCRACY.

A true socialism and a true democracy are one and the same thing. Their mutual aim is to establish and develop that peculiar individualism which shall see its own best protection in studying the interests of all individually and collectively in relation to itself. It is not opposed to individualism in a distinctive sense. It knows the value of ability and would have all it can of it, but in the right direction, and claims the right and might to dictate what that shall be. It cannot and will not put up with any exercise of individualism which threatens the public safety. There is a certain class of unscrupulous individualism manifest in getting rich no matter how, except by coming into such contact with the law as to endanger itself (How far it cannot go to-day no one dare say!) which must be placed on a level with actual murder, or even worse, which ruins homes by destroying the value of the income-giving investments, to steal them. There are degrees of this work which may be called minor stealing because less nervy. That class of men must be stopped now and bred out of the human race. They are fatal to the peace and the prosperity of any country. The machine politicians are of the same stamp. Their heads should decorate the telegraph poles of their districts as a horrible warning to others, even as the Chinese authorities treat pirates. The sea pirate has always been a more respectable character than his land representative. The nautical variety kills quickly. The land-lubber strangles by degrees. He is a real Shylock. There is a whole army of small fry pilot-fish who follow in the wake of the bigger sharks, ever ready to do any dirty work so long as they can get an office. These animals must be sent to oblivion by a system of civil service which will make it impossible to throw a person out of office so long as he is faithful to his obligations. Do not forget the one thing we are constitutionally guaranteed is the right to political and religious freedom. The citizens of this country are practically traitors to its fundamental principle. They are infidels. They have not honesty enough to be heretics. The social and political tyrannies of this "free country" are only equalled by those of Russia. The "free thinkers"

desire others shall say just what they please, and demand an equal courtesy. There can be no such a thing as sacrilege, except to deny reason the right to the freest expression of its reasons.

What and where is the "democracy of America"? That is the same thing as asking, "Where is the real manhood of America?" Some are still in the Republican ranks; some in the Democratic: a large and ever-increasing number is known as the mugwumps; many are among the Populists; many in the ranks of the wage-earners; many in the woman's movement; the Chinese could be counted on were they decently treated. The real democracy of America is the aggressive, unbound intellect of the country. The "let-well-enough" alones and the ignorant, vicious and purchasable can be included in both the old parties. The fetich worshippers are still in party thralldom. They are "h'objects" in the image of men. They have not intelligence enough to be aware of it. They dare not trust it. The "Boss" is their political God. He surely is no "Theory;" he is a material fact. That fetich must be dethroned and permanently destroyed before there can be any universal political manhood in Americans.

While the wage-earners in the country have made a serious mistake in not going into politics according to their respective trades and sending men from their own ranks to represent them and cut adrift from party machinery, the people of the farmers' movement, the "People's Party," have made the still more fatal error of falling down before the traditional fetich and organized a party with all the evils of machine bossism. The adoration and subjection to this fetich among them is as degradingly disgraceful as in the old parties. These farmers need to be talked to very plainly. While there are numbers of most intelligent men in that movement, because they know the futility of anything good coming out of the old parties, the rank and file have been correctly described in previous pages. They are mostly the "downs and never to get ups." They have not intelligence enough to be trusted with a vote any more than the scum of our cities have honesty enough. The machine takes these "hayseeds" by the neck, and the way it votes

them "straight" would give pointers even to "Boss Croker of Tammany." The poor tools may be American citizens, but they fail in all the elements which make a man. They are the political sheep led to the shambles by the "boss" butcher. They are told to die. They dare not question as to how they can best sell their constitutional rights. The theological and political priests are of the same breed. Their vocation, only, varies a little. Their methods are identical. They feed on ignorance and hold power by bullying. There are too many in this populist movement, who represent the very worst element in our public life. They learned the lesson in the old parties. They could get nothing there, not having ability enough to be really worth an office. They have gone into this popular movement, not because they belonged there, but in hopes of laying their hands on the "boodle." It is this side of the populist movement which deters men who see in it a possible aid to a true democracy from trusting it. Like the government itself it was a corrupt abortion when born.

The true democracy has all the filth necessary to contend with in the old parties. There should be no fusion, no matter for what purpose, no compromise between the manly, independent democracy and the old parties. Filth and corruption cannot be touched without pollution. Accept defeat like men, but do not fuse with corruption and ignorance like cowards. There is no hope to be sought in the "pop" movement. Its members are not true to themselves in manhood's sense. Its leaders are "on the make" and not true to their principles. They have as many relatives on the public pay-roll as those whom they once condemned in the old parties. It is a communistic movement as shown by quotations from its "leader." Its communism favors strongly of anarchy. It is following a "theory." It is not formed in an earnest determination for an honest and reliable government. Trial in Nebraska and Kansas has shown it could give the old parties a liberal discount in its greed for spoils. It is not democratic. It will not last. Much more is to be expected from the more intelligent and experienced wage-earners, who should know the profound intimacy which exists between the capitalistic class and the inter-

ests of the country even better than most any class of citizens. The populist movement is communistic—individualistic. It considers not the effect of its actions on the other interests of the country. While hundreds, one might say thousands, are watching it carefully to see if there is not something in it of a truly democratic honesty, one fails to find it. It puts local things in its platforms, and cares nothing of their effect on the wage-earners of every name and description. It creates suspicion where, by a noble broad democratic policy, it should make friends. But one thing it has done; it has also begun interest representation. It has sent farmers to represent farmers in some cases, even if they have not acted wisely. It is still so lacking in self-confidence as to depend too much on lawyers, a land-shark who never trusts himself, and hence should be trusted by no one. A lawyer representative is always a retained one. So are the majority of any kind. It is the nature of the unfortunates. They cannot help it. The people should demand men. They should not try to make slaves of them when they find them. They do! This is why there are but few men in the public service. We must do this farmer movement justice. Its fanaticism—aye, its insanity—has been that it has allowed itself to be led by the nose by a lot of sore-headed dead-beats from the older parties or some dangerous demagogues from its own ranks. These men have paralyzed the sensible farmers by the noise they have made. They have not had time to develop and get acquainted with the men in their own ranks, whom they know they can trust because of their truth to themselves in the desired direction. It is this kind of men only who can be trusted by the people. A man who pretends to represent the people, and has to be pledged as to what he will do, is a slave, a cur, and not a man, though he be an American citizen. What is wanted is men whom we know, not men who know us, to represent us. The representative who keeps his eye on his constituency had better never leave it. This partyism must be broken, or else good-bye to our so-called liberties. They are virtually lost now. They can be resurrected. A few more years of the present chain-gang politics, and the last trump will be blown over the grave of justice in the United

States. Nothing but a revolution can then dig up the poor weakling and give it strength.

We hear that the prosperity of the country depends on a gold coinage with all else subsidiary to it. We are told that we must have "free silver" or go to the national purgatory: that we must have all sort of communal loan institutions by the government. With the exception of small minority, the real mugwump, the people are after most every kind of a cure-all but the real one. The politicians of the country are quack doctors. The people, being mostly fools, patronize them. They think the government is all right. It is well that the farmers think it is all wrong. It may awaken people to hunt the evil. I agree with them, but not as to the nature of the evil. A correct diagnosis is national dishonesty due to partyism and machine methods, founded in the fetich of human equality legalized by the constitution, which gives abilities to an American citizen, as such, not possessed by any other people. The fetich, "a government of the people, for the people, by the people," must be shattered and made to read, "by the highest and best drilled intelligence among the people." Only in this country do we find the government in the hands of supreme selfishness representing itself, while the people are represented by an army of pliant tools and fools elected by themselves. This condition of things must be changed. It is well that the people be told the truth. It is seldom they hear it. Most doctors, theological, political, or medical, are quack. It seldom pays to tell the patient the truth. One gets discharged for doing his duty. Only the sugar-tongue fraud and the sharp thief lives cosily, others work and survive accordingly.

THE CONSTITUENCY FETICH.

Is there anything so unpractical in the idea of interest representation in the place of that of constituencies? "But the constitution does not provide for it," say you. So much the worse for the constitution. "We, the people," are the constitution of this country, when we have character enough to be. An undue regard for the infallibility of the constitution is still another form of

fetich worship which must be gotten rid of. It cannot be said that the Republicans lack in ability. They have really the best managing ability in the country. As has been stated, if any one will study their actions carefully, they will at once see that they have already introduced enough interest reputation into legislation to carry their points. They make their stronghold in the senate, but by no means neglect the house. These men generally have intelligence enough not to threaten or cause the apprehension of any other interest than the one each member may be particularly interested in. Socialism is the advancer of principles from which, so long as considered right, it should never retreat an iota whether practical at the time or not. Politics is a business of compromise. Seek all you can, but take what you can get. If the farmers and others could only realize that, while in one sense agriculture is the primary foundation of the social superstructure, it cannot be separated from it, any more than the parts of the body-politic can be treated as separate organisms. It is no reason that a thing or place should not be because it has never been. That is the real basis of almost all obstruction to innovations. Why should we not do away with that fetich, "my constituency"? What a humbug it is! Nowhere in the country does the constituency pay the bills. The whole people do that whether in state or national legislation. Even the constituency idea recognizes the necessity of interest reputation, but not of the right interest. It represents the political and not the business interests of a community. It is the lever politicians use to keep in power, and is worked for all it is worth. It is the factor by which our public business is overcrowded with useless dead-beats and incompetents, because they must be taken care of. It is the dead wood in the counters of the ship of state. It is the factor by which representatives take care of their poor relations and those of their henchmen. It is paternalistic with a vengeance. It is a pension system, limited to the public life of the representative. It is a curse. It is the machine shop which forges the claims of political slavery. It rules caucus and convention. It snubs the people, and takes away from them their constitutional right to select

and elect their own representatives. Theoretically, government is a business. Practically, it is largely a fraud. No business succeeds unless conducted on business principles. Politics are a game of chance. No one ever heard of any principles, except swindling, controlling in that game. There is nothing to be done by legislation which is not business, and yet outside of select men of the Republican party and a few in the Democratic, with still fewer independents who do try to represent the people, the majority of representatives do not know enough to represent any business. It is no indication that because an individual has been successful in conducting his private affairs, that he is capable of legislating on the general business of the nation. On the contrary it is more often the case that the individualism which brings personal business success is so limited and confines a person within such narrow intellectual limits as to totally unfit him for anything else. The majority of our leading business men are fully aware of this. It is the chief reason that they refuse to accept public office. The lawyers are too much inclined to look on legislation entirely as law-making, and have also too narrow a view of the business interests of the country to be suitable legislators. They are more often the obstructors of good legislation in favor of partisan tactics than aiders and abettors of the people's interest. With regard to all legislation, the first question is, is it necessary? second, how will it affect other interests? These relations being established, then the law must be made to suit the necessity, not the necessity the law. If the lawyers in legislation would be only half as earnest in endeavoring to drive the "coach and four" of popular necessity through the law, as they are to obstruct justice by legal technicalities, there might be some use for them.

Is it not a business representation that we require? If the Republican and Democratic capitalists of this country have seen the wisdom of selecting competent men to represent their interests, why not all interests? ¹ These

¹ I recently read an article claiming the clergy to be a learned profession. Knowledge forbid! If it is being learned to be buried in the ignorance of traditional superstition, then the clergy are learned. However, with other ignorants they should be represented. In the

business men generally have been shrewd enough, while they press the political button for all it is worth in their favor, not to go too far in driving the other interests to the wall. They are approaching the danger-point as is evinced by the results of the late election. It was not the work of the laboring classes which upset the Republicans. It was the young men, those trying to get up, the small manufacturers and merchants who have been injured by the trusts and the tariff and big monopolist concerns and a small army of highly educated and thinking men who did the work.

What must come is interest representation by men especially born to make politics a profession on a scientific basis, and not by men unfitted to comprehend the necessities of the country as a whole. Men are born. They are not made. Some are born conservative (the major part of conservatism is founded in ignorance, the balance in cowardice), others with that sharpness which succeeds in business in one way or another. A few to be investigators, and still fewer with that socialistic individualism and rare scientific spirit to make them the men suitable for public service of the highest kind. As things now are, this latter class look like "freaks." They are not! The ever-increasing socialistic environment and education (not in the schools) of the world is developing more and more of them. The trouble is, our system of education is at present more liable to strangle this most necessary class of society than stimulate it. Our educational institutions are all death to the truth, and will be so long as traditional superstition receives any respect. Real men are not directly aided by them. They break loose in spite of them. They are nests of hypocrisy and mediocrity. These men come from all ranks in life. They are among the merchants and lawyers. The severe struggle for existence often prevents their demonstrating their true character. They are quite fully represented in the "radical" ministry. They come from among the

interest of the community and general advancement the medical profession should be represented by its most ultra thinkers. If the theology is a learned profession, what has it contributed to the fruits of the tree of knowledge but darkness to prevent their ripening? Science has the only learned professions. It deals in light,

farmers. Every class of wage-earners has them. What is wanted is to discover them and educate them to be useful where they are a matter of actual necessity. It is in the nature of things that such men should come out of the various walks of life. It is not in the interests of the country that they should know nothing else than the necessities of the class they spring from. The duty of public educators should be to seek them out. They should then be stimulated to fit themselves for public life and receive the broadest education in evolutionary social science, so that they can fully appreciate the true relation of every part to the other parts and the whole of the body politic. Such men are not so scarce as people think. They are not discovered because there is no call for them. They should be the best paid men in the country. No private business can really afford to pay what the people should for the highest abilities, the most noble development to which mankind has evolved. One thing is sure, such men cannot be expected in the public service until it pays. This working for the public "for honor" is the vanity of vanities. The public is the biggest dead-beat on earth. Every laborer is worthy of his hire. They are suppressed and called "cranks" by their companions. These are the men who should be selected to represent the various interests. They should be so manly, so individualized, that there could be no doubt of their devotion to the part as well as the whole. They should ever be representatives of the whole, and while selected by an interest should never be bound to a constituency.

On the other hand, there are occasional socialistic individualists who are so broad, so gifted, that their mental vision grasps the whole of the nation. There is an occasional one who grasps the world. He is as big as the whole race. He lives over its history in his life. He studies it in every detail. He knows man. The majority scarcely know what one man is composed of. There are quite a number of men in every country approximating this standard, though we do not know them because the world has not called for them. Thomas Paine was such a man. "The world is my country, and to do good my religion." Lincoln approached it, but only as an Amer-

ican. Mr. Cleveland is broad, though not up to the standard. He is making a splendid endeavor in that direction. Had Cleveland only challenged the country as a free and independent Democrat he would have shown he was equal to the emergency. We need such men! They will come! They should put themselves forward as presidential and gubernatorial candidates. There need be no alarm that it will cause confusion. When the people are educated to it they will be selective enough. We shall then have a President of the United States. Not before! All elections should be by popular vote. There should be no nominations. The Senate should be abolished. The House should be limited to a possible two hundred and one members. Elections should be general. The one of the two hundred and one elected having the most votes should be Speaker of the House. Districts and constituencies must be broken up in local, state, and national politics. There must be no north, no south, no east, no west, but instead, capitalists, iron-workers, shoemakers, carpenters, lumber-men, etc. Localism of all kinds must be broken down into one grand nationalism, while for "home work" the localities must conduct themselves on the same general principles. Elections should be a free concurrence with no tariff. The people should pay all election expenses. There should be no caucuses or conventions. Men's character should make them candidates and their lives should be their platform. Those who elected Mr. Cleveland, not all who voted for him, paid no attention to the machine platform. Grover Cleveland was and is his own platform. He needed no convention to speak for him. He alone represented the democracy. The platform represented the party. We all knew him. We still know him. He is a man. Let us think! If we do not wade out of this sea of constituency and caucus conventional corruption into the light of interest representation we shall be swamped. Let us learn of the Republicans. They demand that kind of individualism which looks out for itself first. We demand that kind of socialistic individualism which looks out for its own interest and the whole at the same time. It is a distinction with a difference. It will be the difference which will make its mark in the further evolution of humanity.

FREE TRADE OR PROTECTION.

The march of human progress is one continued record of the endeavors of the masses to overcome barriers in the way of further advancement which ignorance on their part, ignorance on the part of such government as existed, and ignorance on the part of individual individualistic ability have unitedly built up.

No one social question is better suited to test the law of self-protection than the question of a tariff for protection. Not a tariff for revenue, but a tariff for protection. We have had varying tariffs for protection, and the "right" of a tariff for protection has been generally asserted by governments and ruling classes in most countries. As has been shown in the section on "false" Americanisms, the so-called "McKinley Tariff" is more than a tariff for protection. It places "protection" as a deceptive Americanism before the people, in order to get revenues to cover the frauds of the exorbitant pension-service of the Republicans and replete the treasury. The manufacturers accept the bait as it is sweet to them. The people pay the bills. It was also shown that the protection policy exposes its own villainy by the desperate and foolish methods it uses in its endeavors to fool the people and frighten or excite them to supporting the protection measures in Congress. On general principles a coward is never right. One thing is sure: a gentleman and a brave man never stoops to lies, subterfuges, false sentimentality and deception in order to overcome an opponent. There is nothing manly or honorable in the dealings of the protectionists, both politicians and manufacturers. They act exactly like some sneak thief before a court who had something in his possession and used every kind of an argument and inducement to prevent an examination of his person. They remind one of the southern slaveholders when they could not answer the open manly attacks of Garrison, Phillips, Parker, Sumner and the abolitionists, resorting to bribery, and every subterfuge, and almost murder, to bolster up their bad cause. A representative of protection in Congress claims that "trade is always between individuals." The same individual refused to present a petition to Congress signed by wage-earners

in his constituency, in favor of the Wilson Bill. Does that look as if he believed that "trade is always between individuals"? Why then try to put the barrier of National Law between individuals, merely because natural geographical limits or artificial boundaries have led to one set of individuals being born here and another there? Protectionists all admit that free-trade "between individuals" is always the thing for the people limited within national limits and point to this country as an example. Why not then the same medicine for the race universal? Where but in the doctrine of natural might, which I admit, where it can, lies the authority to interfere with the course of natural events? The protected manufacturers, however, and the Republicans in especial, but only when controlled by local interests, again refused to take their own medicine when they thought their own interests were involved. They refused "protection" or government nursing to the western silver mine owners. They are natural individualists *per se*. With them it is "whole hog or nothing." Between the Republican politicians, and the braves who never got scratched, and the protected manufacturers the government cow is milked so dry, and the provender so scarce, that except by the assistance of a forced loan to buy food, artificial milk for the industries infants named, and replenish the government bins, the poor beast is threatened with financial exhaustion, a sort of drastic consumption.

If "trade is always between individuals," for what reason do such extreme individualists "desert their colors" and become communists and demand government aid and support? Why not "let her go" and let every man take care of himself? What is there to fear? If "always between individuals" then, on that basis all individuals should be "always" able to "trade" unaided, unabettled and unrestricted by any limiting powers?

As admitted, the only right of protection in trade is that of the natural might of the individuals protected to obtain and maintain such monopoly. The right of might is granted. But—and here is the lesson natural individualism, after unlimited centuries of bitter experiences, has failed to learn—the law of natural might is that of brute force. There is never a natural law as to one force which

does at once call in another force governed by the more profound and fundamental law—"Action and reaction are equal but opposite in direction." When not, something happens. Something gets crushed. The reaction may be slow in gathering energy, but come it must and come it does, gathering momentum as it moves.

That part of the race on American soil is really no different in fundamental characteristics than the race everywhere. The history of social revolutions, which have destroyed governments and scattered entrenched ability to the winds, is but the history of aggressive and indifferent individualism: aye, more, of an individualism so ignorant that it recklessly disregarded the law of reaction and called forth forces which eventually swamped and destroyed it. That is just what entrenched individualism is doing in this country. Unfortunately for us all the wisdom of the fathers failed to see the folly of their own action. They did not see that they put a force in action which would as certainly as cosmic law generate a force which would react to its total destruction. That force was the erroneous statement or reading of natural law—they did not read it at all—that "all men are born equal." The fathers then did their utmost to enact it in the constitution. All ethical philosophers, all statesmen, all teachers, have taken up the cry, and everywhere you may read that the end of government is and must be "to guarantee to every individual citizen the freest use of his natural faculties so long as said freedom does not interfere with like freedom in use on the part of another."

As every American should know, the fathers declared "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights."

The previous passage declares the "right." As the Populist leader says of Christianity and Religion (as he views them), alas! it is all "a theory." It has not worked! It will never work! Men may declare human equality until the crash of doom! It cannot be made by law. Natural individualism contradicts it. The action of the fathers gave natural individualism the most tremendous push it has ever artificially received. We have no respect for monarchical traditions to hold it in check as they have in Europe. We have no ancestors' battles to fight which

inspire a form of national solidarity, and thus keeps natural individualism within certain limits, or less acute in its manifestations, as they have in Europe. We have the internal disturbances all the more severe, however, and more portentous when they do come. One cannot imagine, at present, a social revolution in France and Germany, which would not instantly collapse with the appeal to patriotism, "The enemy have crossed the frontier." We have no such advantage. If once the reaction comes, we shall reap the result of the whirlwind of our own ignorance. Protection represents, more than any other factor, the results of the unlimited action of natural individualism. The "equality of the fathers" is represented by the total inability of the government, and the utter disregard of the Republicans and their cohorts of the law of reaction. Let us now consider.

THE LAW OF SELF-PROTECTION AND PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

Let us state the law :

1. No intelligent individual can morally afford to so act, or cause action in his favor, which in any way, no matter how distant, is liable to react to his own injury; it matters not whether said action has relation to another individual, or to the community as an individual.

2. No intelligent government will act, or cause action, either in relation to any individual citizen, or to any body of citizens, or any special interest, or towards any other government, which is liable to cause reaction on the part of said citizen, body of citizens, interest, or other nation, which shall tend to disturb the social equilibrium, or endanger the interests of any individual in the government acting, or any body of citizens or interest in said government, or of the people as a whole comprising said government.

No one need say that that law, or that statement of the law, is "a theory." It is not; it is a fact! It is a cosmic law. As said in another place, it is the law of action and reaction applied to individual, social and national morality. It neither declares for equality nor recognizes it. It leaves to every individual the right to exercise his faculties, but egoistically cautions him, to himself control that

use for his own self-protection. Inequality, whether the inequality of ignorance, of inability, or the inequality induced by over-self-protectiveness, unintelligent or natural individualism, exerts itself at its own peril. That is, natural individuality, whether displayed in over-action or minus of action, on the part of the individual.

Government represents socialism. It is then the duty of the government to intelligently and rigidly insist that every citizen live according to the law of individual self-protection. It is the duty of government above all things to carry out the law in all general enactments, and to continually educate the people in the law.

Favorite sons, favored interests, sectionalism, are impossible under that law. A protective tariff and the law of self-protection intelligently applied are incompatibles. This is the lesson entrenched ability, protected individualism, has to learn, and that immediately. Otherwise the relative might of a massed individualism—the people—may dethrone it and destroy it even more than it is self-protective. Any governmental limitation of natural ability is as nationally non-self-protective and immoral as special legislation in favor of special interests. Government is not a game of chess with the people as pawns, as politicians and a disdainful individualism assume. Let them both apply the principle, that “trade is always between individuals.” Let the government keep its hands off so long as individuals trade honestly.

If, as admitted and apparently demanded by Mr. Walker of Massachusetts, “trade is always between individuals,” trade should and must “always be between individuals;” then protection must be classed among the barriers which ignorance has raised or permitted to be raised against the welfare of man, and which an intelligent socialism must remove according to the law of individual and mass self-protection. Such barriers have been and are fetiches. They find their origin in fetich worship. Protection finds its origin in the fetich worship of an imaginary infant, “infant industries,” a sickly nationalism which needs wet-nurse treatment. The popular mind attaches itself to *post hoc ergo propter hoc* with the tenacity of desperate cowardice.

Only through the sacrifices of brave and public-spirited

men and women have the fetiches been, one by one, removed from the pedestals of traditional superstition. Protection is a fetic. Some people assert it is constitutional; others declare it is not. Some say the fathers believed in and advocated it; others assert the contrary. Like every one else in an active progressive age, the fathers' record is more or less contradictory. As to the constitution, it depends on how we look at it; and it is the same regarding the fathers. If both are to be judged by the very nucleus of our national foundation, the "declaration of independence," then the constitution cannot endorse protection of infants, and the fathers never had any idea of it. An infant has no rights because it has not the right to maintain them. As every thinking man knows, the "declaration" is the most individualistic document on record. It declared that every man should do as he pleased, as God made him to. The constitution was made to regulate "interference"—nothing more. The "declaration" was the "corner-stone," the social barometer by which the constitution was to be interpreted and executed. If the "declaration" justifies putting any barriers anywhere on the free action of individuals within the limits of non-interference with others, I cannot see it. "Uncle Sam has land enough to give all the world a farm" does not look much as if the fathers were protectionists. "Come, ye unfortunate," was the song with which Columbia endeavored to develop her resources. If the fathers desired to protect any one it was the unfortunate. That certainly is not the idea of the tariff protectionist. He preaches altruism to the wage-earner with one continuous eye on self. He talks loudly about "Americanism" and sets it up as a fetic for the ignorant to worship, while he tramples Columbia under his feet. With all the shrewdness of natural individualism he looks out for himself and endeavors to make the wage-earner help him, when, with serpentine cunning, he pulls the wool of deceit over his eyes. So successful have the over-protectionists been that the wage-earners largely believe them to be their best friends. They have carried the law of self-protection so far in their own interests as to have almost killed out any appreciation of it in the wage-earner. The language of the early fathers particularly emphasizes

the strongest individualism which contradicts any idea of limited protection on their part. Now let us be honest. Let us apply the principles of true socialism to this case. Is it not the careful regard for justice and the protection of the less fortunate from their own ignorance that no injustice or injury comes to us? If that is true, then where is the justice or good sense in taxing others that we alone may be benefited? Are not the manufacturing individualists creating a boomerang liable to react to their own injury? Has it not reacted? Are not the business failures and financial upheavals of the present largely due to the unhealthy stimulus given to the protected interests and immigration? Is not the organization of trusts to kill out smaller men trying to live, a two-headed monster which will eventually consume itself on account of its injustice? We hear about this and that being "American." If there is any one thing which life in America has generated in the past it is self-dependence. If there is any one thing which this self-dependence has developed it is American blow. An American thinks he is a little the biggest animal on earth. At one moment he puts a chip on his shoulder and says "he can meet any one or any body in a fair field, and no favor." But when the other fellow comes on he crawls under Columbia's skirts and cries, "Protect me, I'm only a little infant!" This demand for protection is the acknowledgment of weakness.

Protection is that most dangerous of all evils, communistic individualism. It is so because the might of combined selfishness is harder to overcome than that of one alone. It is not in the nature of things that we should be so terribly watchful of the interests of others as the protectionists pretend to be of the wage-earner. Their very acts show their hypocrisy when they have opportunity to act. Notwithstanding their hypocritical altruism, there is not one of them who does not stock up with clothing and other things in a cheaper market when he visits Europe. No one can find fault with them, but they should be consistent and wait until they got home and give the American wage-earner his opportunity. Show me the man, wage-earner or not, who refuses to buy in the cheapest market, and I will guarantee the wage-

earners themselves will condemn him as a fool. The fact is money is a power, and he who has it and knows how to use it does so to his advantage only. Votes are also a power, but those who have the majority apparently do not know how to use them to their advantage. Where is the wage-earner who would refuse to buy a smuggled suit of clothes if the opportunity offered and they were cheaper than he could get them in a "home market"? The cry of "home market" is a fetich to catch the fool's vote. The smuggler is the gentlemanly free-trader of all. The man who does not patronize him when he can cannot be found. The sin is in being found out. There are lots of undiscovered sinners among the protectionists. All the world is practically opposed to the protection of every one but himself. If that is justice I fail to see it. Let me illustrate the altruism of these protectionists by an actual occurrence which is but one out of hundreds of such cases. It so happened that I was once in the "bouffet" smoker of a limited train which was nearly filled with a company of self-complacent millionaires of one of the most highly protected American industries. I listened to their self-congratulatory remarks about a conference on the "trade interests" which they had just left. It seems that protection had so stimulated the manufacture of the individual concerns that the "market was overstocked," and that they had formed a trust, and that some half-dozen concerns were to be "closed down for repairs" for six months or longer, and that they were to have an equal share in the profits of the trust, and "interest from the trust (on their capital) while they were closed down." Being somewhat of a student of social questions I quietly merged in the conversation without being intrusive, and after a while asked the gentleman nearest to me very innocently, "How many men do the factories to be closed out employ?" He at once answered, "About 5,000!" Then I insinuated, "Will it not be pretty tough on those men and their families?" I received the abrupt reply of Mr. Self-content, "That's their business, not ours." That staggered me a little from a man who had been previously talking about "the advantages of protection to the American laborer." After a while I plucked up courage enough to ask, "What

kind of men are mostly employed in your work?" "Poles, Hungarians and Italians, mostly the former." "Have they been long in the country?" "No. We don't like that kind!" "Please, sir, let me define an American laborer to you as one whose parents were born in this country and who has been educated here in the spirit of the country, do you employ many of that kind?" "Oh, no, sir! They are above such work and are only useful in the most responsible positions." Then I said, "So these five thousand people, improvident as they generally are, and paid wages you could not get Americans for, are to be turned out on the streets?" The man looked at me and asked me if I was a socialist? On receiving a reply that I was not he seemed comforted and went into a detailed account of the expenses of living and taxes, etc., etc. I ventured the question, "Do you think the shut-down manufacturers will cut down their personal expenses any?" That was impudence! The gentleman(?) scornfully replied, "Why should they, their money is theirs, is it not?" Then I suggested that "by turning so many laborers in such a condition loose on the community might not trouble arise?" "That's the police's business." Then I asked him "if the public did not provide that police to also protect his property as part of itself, and if he should not also do something towards it himself, for himself?" "He did not see why he should; he paid his taxes, and that was all could be asked of him." Then my manhood 'ris up," and I said, "My dear sir, I suppose you live what is called elegantly, wife and daughters wear diamonds, carriages, footman, etc.?" "That is none of your business, sir!" "But it is; I am one of those American citizens who protect you that you may carry on your business as a spoke in the public wheel, and have to pay you an extra price for the special protection you have managed to get. Now, sir—I will put myself in the place of one of those 'locked-out' laborers with a wife and children, and assume some months have gone by, my money is gone, the funds of the Union are nearly used up, and having nothing else to do, with wife and children in rags and half starved, I walk through the town to see the sights. The wife looks in the showy windows and wishes she had even the cheap-

est calico for herself and babes instead of rags; the babes ask, 'Papa, won't you buy me an orange or a piece of candy?' (Alas, I cannot!) At this moment up drives your wife and daughters, coachman and footman and livery; ears brilliant with diamonds. All at once the condition of my loved ones crazes me and I utterly forget myself and make a spring and tear a brilliant from one of the ladies' ears. What for, my dear sir? For bread, do you hear! Where do I go to? Jail. Where do you go to? Heaven! where all such sinners go, through the grace of God and a paid clergy." The man was staggered at that, for I was as well dressed as he was. After a moment he turned to his colleagues and thundered out, "Fellows, this fellow here is a damned anarchist." In the most polite manner possible, I "begged his pardon," and said, "Allow me to correct you, sir. I am an American citizen with a lineage no such fraud as you ever possessed." He did not strike me, nor did his savage looks annihilate me. The "crowd" left me, in dignified contempt, the sole possessor of the car. That incident illustrates the "brotherly love" of the American protectionist for the wage-earner better than pages of discussion of principles. It also illustrates how the manufacturer by over-self-protectiveness and the laborer by violence and society by neglect of duty to self, one and all may be false to that law of self-protection, the intelligent regard for which should induce peace and render all such overt acts impossible. I do not think the gentleman was a bad man. In fact, he was really a "royal good fellow,"—among his equals. He probably paid his tithes to traditional superstition, and his wife and daughters had their usual line of "fashionable charities." I would see him protected in his "natural rights," and will not question that he imagines himself a "self-made" creation from the factory of God. On the other hand, I would see that he was not longer protected against the rights of free-trade and honest competition of which he has robbed others. That is justice! The price of wages is not increased by protection. If anything, the wage-earner loses by it through the unnatural cataclysms it produces. The price of labor is regulated by the amount to be done and the accessible labor to do it. Nobody but an idiot or

a villain will seek to argue otherwise. The laborer has his case in his own hands. Stop the senseless reproduction of laborers! Check immigration by putting the standard on self-respecting intelligence instead of a few dollars in the pocket contributed by the protected manufacturers in this country, or foreign governments to get rid of their non-self-supporting surplus.

Above all things do not "blame the other fellow." Let the reckless manufacturer pursue his course, if he can. By adopting interest-representation and cutting adrift from the party machine, he can soon be shown that even if he is personally "the better man," that we can "fix things" so that he will not be "too good" to himself. It is the "too good" only which is objectionable. Every one knows that the previously given conversation does not apply to an individual case. They are occurring with alarming frequency. It is such unintelligent disregard of self which is sure to react against individual prosperity. It is such recklessness which is creating that mistaken socialism and anarchy which is dangerous to manufactures and all alike. It is unfortunate that while these men dig their own graves they will certainly pull those who have mistakenly given them protection in with them. It is to avoid these dangers that these pages are written. It is not to be expected that wisdom can be inspired in the egotistical self-made individualist. Intelligent thought should follow in those trying to get up, and the skillful wage-earners, that they may have wisdom enough to see that the principle of true socialism is not to try and pull "the other fellow down," but to try and build one's self up and to protect themselves by changing conditions, so that in doing so they will protect the manufacturer against himself and the evil results of his inconsistent individualism. Both sides to this controversy need educating badly. As it is, the education each is getting is too one-sided.

THE SUPPOSED BENEFITS OF PROTECTION.

Many might think that the writer was so "bigoted" that he would not admit there could be any good in the Nazareth of protection. On the contrary, I am willing to

admit that there is a "seeming" benefit. I say "seeming" because it is altogether too expensive to the majority which gives the protection. It is absolutely unjust, and it is "unconstitutional," lawyers or no lawyers, because it is class legislation. It is for the benefit of the one at the expense of the rest. I will give it the strongest support which I know of, and one I have been surprised its illogical advocates have never called to their aid. Those men are "no fools," and they probably saw "the cat" long ago.

PROTECTION AND PATENT-RIGHTS IDENTICAL IN SPIRIT.

While I gladly admit that he who invents a great practical innovation should reap the just rewards of the same, I say that under our patent laws the reward is entirely out of proportion to the benefit the public receives, and, furthermore, prevents them from universally enjoying the benefits, as they should. The real public benefits do not come until the patent has expired. Let us illustrate briefly from the history of the sewing-machine. My own family have never been in very poor circumstances, and my good mother was one of those who fanatically believed that the only way she could ever receive the commendation "Well done, good and faithful servant," was by doing good work among the poor. When the sewing-machine first came out my father wanted to buy one; they were very expensive. My mother would not, because "it would take the work from the poor women whom she employed to make clothing for poor children." So long as the machines were expensive they only had a limited use among the wealthy. Now, see the difference! The free-trade has infinitely perfected the machines and they are within the reach of the ordinary person. Thousands of mothers can now make their children's clothing where they formerly would have sat up in the small hours of the night to do it. Millions, almost, of people find their living in its use. Good ready-made clothing has come within the reach of any one who works. Thousands where there was only a limited number find a living in their manufacture. One thing I inquired into: "Did the discovery and patent-protection of the sewing-machine ever increase the price of labor?" It did not. A

limited number of mechanics were taken from other trades, but their wages were not increased by the change. Thus work was made for another limited number. "Has the free-trade in machines decreased the price of labor?" No, but it has given employment to thousands at the same wages of like mechanics in other trades. Thus "free-trade" in sewing-machines has benefited and increased the self-protectiveness of the country in every way. So it must in everything else. Would it not then be infinitely more self-protective for the people to have an intelligent patent commission and pay the inventor a fair remuneration at once and then give the discovery to free competitive manufacture? The same thing is true of the protection of manufacturers. It may give cause to a very limited increase in the number of laborers by the support of a new industry, but it is at too great expense to the whole country, and hence unjust, and not generally self-protective. What do we, the consumers, care? All we want is to buy things in the cheapest market. Free trade means free commerce. Free commerce necessitates peace. Peace necessitates the doing away with standing armies and advanced prosperity. Protection is the invention of individualistic deviltry for itself. The spirit which inspires protection is the same brutal savagery which pines for war in Europe and its inquisitorial miseries, that some in America may be benefited. I may be an atheist, I may be all that is bad or contemptible, but I am man enough to hate misery in all its forms and do my utmost to help mitigate it, because it may react on me and injure me. Injustice and robbery can never do it. Overt and unintelligent individualism can never do it. Individualistic socialism of the broadest character can.

THE COIN-MONEY FETICH.

In a notorious address before an agricultural meeting at the World's Fair the Secretary of Agriculture said (newspaper report): "*He* (the farmer) *will not succeed better* by forming granges and alliances which generally seek to attend to some other business than farming, and frequently propose to run railroads and banks, and even propose to establish new systems of coinage, *than he will*

by individual investigations of economic questions." (Italics mine.)

"Humanity generally, and the farmer particularly, has no *enemy equal in efficiency for evil to ignorance* (italics mine); therefore, each tiller of the soil should investigate for himself various methods of cultivating lands, of producing good crops, and of securing remunerative markets. The one book which I can recommend for farmers for their perusal is, Adam Smith's 'Wealth of Nations.'"
* * * * "Less legislation and more meaning; less gregariousness and more individuality; less dependence on associations, alliances and granges, and more self-relying independence based on acquired facts, is a fair statement of the necessities of the American farmer."

Of all the men now before the public in prominent political position not one is so outspoken an opponent of what is termed "paternalism" (and frequently most wisely, and in the interests of the public) as the very Honorable Julius Sterling Morton. In this case, however, it would seem as if the affable "father of American agriculture," sitting for the time under the auspices of the Democracy in Washington, had taken his own "bit between his teeth" and run away with himself. It looks as if he was treating the "yeomanry of America" (as one of his very pompous predecessors proudly termed American farmers) as if they were a band of very small boys who could not possibly get on without the kindly advice of their good and supremely wise "father." If that language has not a very "paternal" spirit one is at a loss to decide what it is. Our father of agriculture at Washington, D. C., treats the farmers of the country much as he would his own children if he sent them out among strangers into the cruel world. He the same as says to the farmers, "Now, boys, you are very inexperienced in the ways of the world, you must be very careful of the company you keep; do not play or associate with any other little boys of your own kind with whom you have grown up, but, above all, do not go among strangers, such as politicians, bank presidents, lawyers, brokers, railroad magnates, and people of that character, because, really! why! you might learn something; but, above all, my dear little boys, be careful about your reading; take

your loving father's advice, and do not go to bed without taking Adam Smith's 'Wealth of Nations' with you—put it under your pillow and study it diligently. Therein shall you find perfect wisdom, even as your good father has."

"Good Lord, deliver us!" Most omnipotent, thy name is——. We have heard somewhere about the "injudiciousness of parents." It is no wonder that the farmers rebelled. But such inconsistency! How can the farmers follow such a father? He is as inconsistent as that populist "theory" who first made man and woman at one and the same time and commanded them to "multiply and replenish" that which had no human inhabitants before, and then made them singly and punished them for being good children according to fiat primum.

"Father Morton" first tells his little boy farmers that they "will not succeed better" in doing certain things "than (they) will by individual investigations of economic questions." The inference is, that they will not succeed at all. Next, they may "study Adam Smith" and do as he teaches. First, he discourages individualism in the study of economic questions! Next, he tells them to develop all the "individuality" they can, and "more self-relying independence based on facts."

In the first place, we would like to know if lawyers, politicians, railroad magnates, etc., do not form associations, or frequently meet in association, in order to learn from each other? Mr. Morton has certainly heard of a certain man named Ralph Waldo Emerson, somewhat esteemed wise among intelligent people, who said, "We exchange experiences, and all learn something." Some of us think our worthy President not unwise, and yet he has a cabinet, not caring to go it alone, or, more correctly, because the fathers did not think any one man quite wise enough to run the diversified interests of this country without some one to consult with. They should have constitutionally provided the President with a copy of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" and saved us the expense of a congress and cabinet! There is another wise man in the history of this country whom I know Mr. Morton esteems fully as highly as he does Adam Smith. He said, "When human presidents fail thee, go back to

nature, and study for yourself as if all depended on you." Suppose the farmers should follow Father Morton's advice; suppose our agricultural colleges and all educational institutions should select out those students destined to be farmers, and cull out from the curriculum all things pertaining to the value of mutual exchange of experiences; should tell them "all meeting together to discuss your own interests in relation to the general affairs of mankind, or the relation of others' affairs to yours, is pure folly;" that all they should do is to "investigate the various methods of cultivating lands, of producing crops, and remunerative markets;" suppose they should follow that course, where would this country go to? To use a familiar expression, such students "would not know beans." It has always been said that "the farm is the nursery of the nation from which springs its brain and developing energy," which is true to a very large extent, though not so universally so as farmers assume. But, let that be as it may, where would the politicians and bankers and financiers lead this country if left to themselves, allowing them Adam Smith (as prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture) as salvation-medicine, if it were not for the check influence of the farmers of the country? I can say to Mr. Morton, and as a free trader he knows it, that the financiers of this or any other country are so lacking in broad intelligence, so wanting in an intelligent self-protectiveness, that they would run the country flat on the rock of financial destruction in short order were it not for the controlling influence of the agricultural classes. I do not claim any wisdom for the farmer in making that statement, but I do claim that respect for their power is all that has saved this country several times from a temporary financial avalanche. We have lately passed through one which the farmers had little or nothing to do with. Mr. Morton said it was all due to the silver agitation some months since. Financiers (not farmers) started that financial cataclysm. If they deluded the farmer later on he cannot be blamed. We were next told that protection is the chief cause of our financial difficulties, the sequel of the Sherman act having failed to cure the sick child. Surely, the farmers have had nothing to do with that. If any one is to blame for the protection policy it is the

financiers of the country, the very acme of its financial ability. Whether they stand on Adam Smith or not, Mr. Morton knows that even a Democrat Congress will give more heed to what they say than it will to his book of infallible prophecy on things financial. The fact is, that the financiers of America, and all men who rule the financial world in general, pay as little attention to Adam Smith as the farmers probably have or will. They have followed Tom Paine's advice. They have studied the conditions as presented, thought for themselves, and done the best they could for themselves.

That makes men—or, better, is the exemplification of true manhood. It wins! Our agricultural pope should join hands with Mr. Huxley. They both have issued their imperial encyclical excommunication against the validity of cosmic methods in favor of traditional ignorance.

So much for an introduction!

It so happens that I have not read Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," nor any book on finance. It also happens that his Imperial Highness, in the pontifical chair of agriculture at Washington, cannot dictate as to my reading any more than he can that of the farmers. It so happens, as is well known to the reader, that I somewhat follow the precepts of Thomas Paine, and see and think for myself. Even the Republican pope at Washington, Hon. Thos. B. Read, admitted that after all the talk on the "Sherman Bill," he did not think that any of them knew much about finance. Adam Smith's book is a great work, so is the Bible, so are thousands of others, but the greatest of books is nature. We will try to approach this subject free from all traditional precedents, and think for ourselves, no matter where such dangerous individuality leads us. The following clipping from an editorial on an article by the comptroller of the currency, while it bespeaks the financial opinion of the commercial world is worthy of attention.¹ It advises the earnest study of the monetary question, and treats the opinions of the silverites and populists with that respect which is their due as citizens of the country by an officer of the government.

¹ From *North American Review*, Jan., 1894.

"The question to which the friends of a sound money system should now address themselves is not how to temporarily defeat the desires of the Populists, the advocates of free coinage of silver, of government warehouses and kindred plans, but how to permanently insure the country against the dangers which would flow from the crystalizing into law of their monetary and financial sophisms. Such result cannot be brought about by either scoffing at their leaders or scouting that which they propose. Neither will it do to under-estimate the sources of strength of those who range themselves under the banner of the Populist and free coinage party. So long as they have the enthusiasm, which springs from the belief of lessening the woes of the debt-burdened classes, to urge them to effort and the encouragement of the timorous, and compromising in the ranks of those who oppose them, they will continue an active force in the monetary agitation and an uncertain element in American politics, and as such, warrant recognition and intelligent opposition. These people are not to be deceived by empty promises, blinded by flattery, nor soothed into silence by splendid phraseology. They can be eliminated permanently as a factor worthy of consideration in but one way, and that lies in so educating the people in sound monetary principles that the fallacies of their teachings may be 'known and read of all men.' As long as terms of compromise are offered, they will increase in strength; as long as they are not beaten squarely upon the issues for which they stand, they will cling to the hope of ultimate success. That which now is most needed is a campaign of education on monetary and financial questions. The education to be given ought to be systematic and thorough. It ought not to embrace either abstruse theories or illusive deductions. The freer it is of technicalities, the more complete will it be and the results accomplished more certain. It should be rid of all ambiguity and devoid of all enigmatical mystery which so long has cloaked the utterances of many of our skilled practical financiers only to create 'confusion worse confounded' in the minds of the public on the operation of finance and the workings of our currency system."

Let us take the comptroller of the currency at his word. Let us consider what is a "sound money system"?

ANY CURRENCY ON A GOLD BASIS IS NOT IN ACCORD WITH
THE LAW OF SELF-PROTECTION.

It matters nothing to me what is at present best, and, to avoid all argument on that score, I will say that, from the business man's standpoint, I am with the "gold-bugs," until, by bitter experience, the same financial experts learn wisdom in their old age. The writer is one of those uncomfortables who believe in first principles only. It is the business of the business man and educated legislator to apply them. The student of social science has only to

seek and discover them—if he can! I think I shall be able to show, even beyond the power of the materialized spirit of Adam Smith to contradict, that no matter what must be adhered to under existing conditions in the financial world, that a currency having intrinsic value is immoral and fraught with numerous possibilities of disturbance, both individual, national and general.

That is rank heresy! It will probably call forth an encyclical excommunication from the pope of agriculture disqualifying me from all rights to free speech, and even thinking as guaranteed by the constitution, on any subject not scheduled by his potency. The spirit ruling in the agricultural department may have changed in some superficialities, but has a profound resemblance to that of the preceding administration. The country is suffering under an autocracy of ignorance in high places. A reform is necessary. An autocracy of intelligence would be a good change. Let us see how the law of self-protection reads when applied to the question of currency:

Any monetary medium having intrinsic value is an immoral and dangerous financial agent, because it at all times carries with it the possibility of a speculative medium, and hence is a constant menace to the financial, self-protective equilibrium of individuals, nations, and the commercial world.

The beauty of the natural law of self-protection is, that it is axiomatic if properly stated in every place it is applied to social necessities. All the authorities on finance ante-dating or post-dating Adam Smith cannot upset that law. If they can, they can do what Professor Huxley advises, and what the populist "leader" admits has not been done after two thousand years' earnest trial. They can "knock out" natural law, they can upset a self-evident fact with "a theory."

The next question is: Does a currency practically gold, or gold and silver at equivalent ratio, conform to that law of a safe or a "sound money"?

The history of financial reverses answers that question most positively. During the secession war gold and silver disappeared from circulation as if touched by the magic wand of a Hermann. During the early days of the crisis, which is not yet over, \$200,000,000 were drawn

from the banks, and every gold dollar that escaped the watchful teller's attention found its way into the "old stocking" of some timid person. That a currency can ever go to a premium is positive evidence of its unfitness for commercial enterprises. It is self-evident that it has in it that which of itself excites cupidity. That it is still present, if its currency form be destroyed, is a constant premium on stealing.

During the Barings' scare, a few years since, a cautious but millionaire acquaintance of mine received \$20,000 in gold by express in payment of a debt. I heard him tell his bookkeeper to "put that in the safe; we will have something to live on for a time, anyway." How many millions were thus locked up by poorer people, and are being now, no one can tell. Therefore I say that money with intrinsic value is a fetich and a deceptive fraud.

Again, it is generally admitted to be a good financial policy on the part of every government to have the intrinsic metallic value of a coin currency lower than its circulating or "guaranteed" value, in order to prevent speculating in the "currency of the realm," so as to keep it from being used for manufacturing purposes when handier than using the metal in bulk; and, above all, because it keeps the currency in the country, and forces those who want gold and silver for export payments to buy it in bulk. There are many mistaken people, some disciples of Adam Smith among the number, who assert that the "government stamp" does not give the value to the currency. Something must be wrong with such people's "think apparatus." Just at present this country is floating about five hundred millions of circulating medium on its "stamp," and the addition of fifty millions more gold, by bonds, is but the same thing. The amount outstanding against the amount of gold hoarded up is still so great that without the government stamp, without full faith in the financial credit of Uncle Samuel, the currency of the country is not worth fifty cents on the dollar.

In other words, the useless (for the time) gold buried in the government vaults and banks has no more actual value than the seigniorage silver. Both are tribute to a fetich. We stand, as a nation, on a financial vacuum.

The gold god now rules in the financial arena. It is the old fetich which costs the human race so much misery: "It has been, therefore it must be." Everything that the financial world can possibly demand under existing conditions is conceded. To have free silver coinage on a gold basis, or a forced and unnatural (according to the equilibrium of commercial values) parity of silver with gold, is but jumping from the frying-pan of financial uncertainty into the fire of commercial destruction.

The question is: Is there any necessity of either the fire or the frying-pan? Can we not, should we not, dethrone the coin money god? Have we not worshipped at the shrine of the "golden calf" long enough? Is it not about time we sought that divinity, "common-sense"? How much experience does the world require? Is it not suicidal nonsense to have millions of dollars continually hoarded up, as security, and really useless to anybody? Is not the fancied security but tribute to prejudicial ignorance? Can we not get rid of that abominable fetich, *post hoc ergo propter hoc*? Let us see!

Remember, we are discussing principles first. It will be time enough to discuss what to do after it has been decided what should be done. The agricultural Cato says, "Read Adam Smith." Thomas Paine, reverberating the echoes of human success from time immemorial to the final clash of the thunders of eternity, says: "Think for yourself, study natural facts, and form your own conclusions." Weak men, men of small caliber, make fetiches out of themselves and bow down before their own reflection. The Populist "leader" diagnosed the case correctly. It is the worship of "a theory." Singularly, he had not wit enough to take his own medicine, and drop his "theory" and follow his own lead. Authorities are dangerous. The homely maxim, "Follow your own nose and go ahead," is generally as sure a guide as that the stern of a ship follows the bowsprit into port when intelligently navigated.

The questions are: What is money? What is its purpose? To put the two in one.

Money is the accepted token of value—nothing more. It is dangerous to define too much. It leads to disputes as the meaning of the surplus. All money is token

money, if the rule be generally applied, as I think it is, that all coin has less intrinsic metal than its current value. It soon acquires it. There is little coin in actual use which is not token-money. Abrasion of use soon reduces it to that condition. In a very large sense the entire circulating medium is token-money. The notes in circulation, the checks going all over the world in payment of debts, are but tokens of the faith of man in man, that the signer of them has the equivalent to pay with, not in coin or gold, but property. That is the point. All money in circulation, or out, I do not care an iota if it be gold, carries with it the token of the value of something more enduring than itself. That something is founded on the law of self-protection! It is honor! Persons do not stop to think what an important factor this is in the financial world, notwithstanding frequent ruptures on the part of individuals. Financial honor by no means implies honorable business principles in the ideal sense. No man in the world, no "Christian" bank president with untarnished record, has greater financial honor than the professional gambler in his own environment. To be a "dead game sport" means to be the picture of individual honor according to the code of one's environment, whether in church, in business, in politics, or what not. It is the fact that the majority of real business men find it pays to be known as "dead game," which gives their currency dealings value. "His word is as good as his bond" means that his word is as good as gold eagles with Uncle Sam's endorsement on them. There is more in that than most people realize. It is the "word," the character of the man which really guarantees the value of the circulating medium he deals in. There are hundreds, thankfully thousands, of men whose personal note, without security or endorsement in any form, is worth in any bank, or to any merchant where they are known, more than gold eagles with Uncle Sam's endorsement presented by an entirely unknown character. The suspicion at once arises, perhaps, that money has been "sweated" or "doctored." Often it has been.

Money, then, is but a token to him receiving it that the person offering it has that behind which surely guarantees the token. On a mistaken view of the above state-

ment banks are obliged to have an unused and coin surplus and this government the same. But in no case is the coin actual security! The coin itself is "token" according to the "financial honor" of the holder—from 50 per cent. to 100 per cent.—considering notes and bank checks as the biggest part of the circulating medium. Now if the assumption that there is something behind the token so substantial as to even guarantee gold, the very basis of all accepted currency, does not that sufficiently prove that, if rightly applied, that something—value behind—which is not gold, is sufficient to float any currency—like notes and bank checks having no intrinsic value whatever? Does it not show conclusively enough that a way is possible of arriving at a currency without intrinsic speculative dangers due to metal value, which can be more serviceable still, and equal to the demands of the commercial world? What is called "credit value" is not so in fact. The "credit" assumes the units of redemption to be at the command of the debtor. The 50 per cent.—more or less—of circulating medium now floating unsupported by any coin basis by the United States is "on par," and accepted as such because of the confidence of the people in each other, and the world in the integrity of the people of the United States. What does the fifty million gold bonds recently issued by the United States stand on? According to those who say the government stamp does not insure the value without its being intrinsic, they should stand on "wind." They have been exchanged for gold, and, what is worse, gold to lie idle as a monument to the fetich of commercial ignorance? Neither the gold they purchase, nor the gold in the treasury, nor any other medium having intrinsic value, the property of the government of the United States, as such (Secretary Carlisle's and President Cleveland's personal signature, or whatever goes on those bonds, is not worth in reality the paper they are printed on), secures those bonds. Why, then, are financiers so willing to accept them and give gold for them? Is it not that they have the same faith in the ability and honor of the people of the United States to stand by their government and pay as they have in one another as business men? The purpose of money, then, is as a token of ability

to redeem the token with a commodity having actual value. Money was gotten up to overcome the difficulties of trade when one individual did not have something the other wanted to exchange for something he wanted. The party of the second part, knowing that what the other had had as much value in the market as that which the party of the first wanted of him, because he did not want it, says to the party of the first part, "Give me something to show value received, and when you exchange what you have for something I want, then we will settle up." That is all there is to money. That is why checks and notes have so largely taken the place of actual currency.

Now as to how to get out!

The first necessity is that the great commercial nations of the world come together and establish an absolutely artificial unit of value on which the entire natural resources of the respective nations be estimated. This unit of value to be eternal and unchangeable, so far as human events can have any relation to it.

Men of education know that we already have an international unit of weights and measures—the meter and the gramme. We have an approximate unit of value. It is easy enough to make an international one. Let that unit be one gramme of gold, or a centimeter square of gold, of the same thickness as the meter of measure. Make the value arbitrary, and then let all gold, silver, or other units conform to it. The market value is an entirely different matter, just the same as it takes different quantities of different things to weigh one gramme.

Any attempts of this kind must be international. No nation is big enough to "go it alone" to-day. Nations are growing smaller as the world grows older. Let there be an international monetary congress arranged for to first establish this unit of value. To such a congress let every nation sending delegates send an exact statement of the value of its entire natural resources, not the products of human industry. Let the congress agree on an international paper-currency, acceptable in all the nations represented by the congress, but issued by the respective governments, to an amount, say 75 per cent., as agreed on by the congress of the estimated value of the natural resources. Let the congress meet every ten years and

rearrange the circulation on the same basis. Abolish gold and silver entirely as too dangerous materials to be used in currency, and for convenience adopt aluminum for metal currency, at such amounts and fractions as the congress may agree upon. Let the currency be known as the "International Currency" and issued by the government of United States, France, Switzerland," etc., in such amounts as shall be agreed upon by the congress. While the natural resources as well as the honor of each nation are pledged for the amount issued, it is not a credit currency. It is not dependent on the amount of annual income in any sense. It is a practically irredeemable currency. It would stay in circulation until used up. It has no value, but represents value. It is all a currency was, is, or ever will be intended for. It is a medium of convenience to facilitate transfer. The "government brand" and international agreement make it good. It is, in reality, secured by mortgage on the natural resources of the country issuing it and acceptable everywhere. No one would want to hoard it. It could not be used to increase the danger in case of financial disturbance. It would float everywhere and float all things. It would be a strong moral lever, because all the use people would have for it would be to put it into actual value by investment as soon as possible. In many ways it would tend to stimulate home investments and to permanency in population, rather than wild-cat ventures, as many mistaken people may be inclined to assume. Gold and silver would assume their natural levels as any other product of labor, and all temptation to "fool with the currency" of the realm be dissipated.

Knowing little, perhaps nothing, on finance, as an expert, never having read Adam Smith, not being a worshipper of the agricultural idol, Pope Julius Sterling I., this may be all heresy. It is simply the study of the question of finance as it looks to one who knows nothing of it, and based on the ordinary study of trade in a most objective manner by one who has not the faculty to make a dollar.

WOMAN

THE RELATIONS OF THE SEXES.

TIME and again during the past ten years have I been asked by radical women who had freed themselves from the chains of traditional superstition, though still held in "bonds of the flesh" which the Church had forged for them, to write the coming pages, but never before have I been in a position when I did not care an iota what the effect of undressing woman and presenting her in her natural simplicity would be on myself. I have, however, suffered so much ostracism and tyrannical abuse for being true to myself that the piling on of a few more fagots cannot increase the debt I owe to the traditional ignorance and political corruption in this country.

The subject of woman is the most difficult of all social questions to consider: there is so much fetich about it. Man has made a fetich out of woman, and woman has made a fetich out of herself. We scarcely know what a true woman should be, and least of all do the majority of women themselves know. Ignorant as men are, they have never hugged the adder of theological superstition with such blind veneration as woman, as far as they themselves are concerned. Long before the days of the theological God, environmental necessity placed woman in dependency on man, which he soon assumed to be natural. With more knowledge came appreciation of the dangers and miseries of life, then came the theological God and the Adam and Eve story to explain it. Then the separation of the priests from the warriors. Man all! The priesthood had to live, and being nothing but students of tradition it has made woman its victim and man its tool. We know the result: woman slavery! How any educated and sane woman can believe in a theological system which has damned and still condemns her to a system of sexual and in many respects chattel slavery

is something beyond comprehension. The first step to justice to woman is to smash theological tradition into pieces. The majority of women hug the links of their binding chains. At the Washington Conference of Presbyterians (June, 1893) it was concluded or asserted that: "It is impossible for God to lie. The Word of God is the truth from the beginning."

The Bible says: Woman was made from the rib of a man, which science pronounces to be false. "That is blasphemy!" Prove me the existence of a God and that woman was created in that way, and I will gladly retract. The truth is never blasphemous! Only the theologians deal in blasphemy. They originated in ignorance, live on ignorance, and must either perish in ignorance or ignore their traditions and come out into the daylight of pure knowledge. The other version says that man and woman were both made at one and the same time, and both in the image of God also. There is no mention of woman being made in any other way. They were then commanded (without any unnecessary delay) to at once proceed "to multiply and replenish the earth." But, being the first couple, just what they were to replenish is still a mystery. It is not unworthy of note that while in order to hold women in her power the church universal has adopted the Garden of Eden story, and cursed woman for it ever since, that the Gospels do not, but take the version in the first chapter of Genesis: "But from the beginning of creation God made them male and female." That sour-hearted old Greek *roué*, who, after reforming, became the pillar of the theological Ananiases, Paul, again adopted the Eden story. In order to understand anything we must trace its phylogenesis, and know where it came from and how it got here. Let us trace this gynæcological tree. Most people are not aware that that expression means "*via* the mother." Until very recently the pre-historic "mother's right" held in all things save human. In stock-raising the sire scarcely counted in considering the lineage of the young. Two animals were half brother or sister when their dams were the same. If out of different dams by the same sire they were not related at all. The ancestry on the female side gave all the pedigree and relationship. While I have been dis-

connected with the "turf" for about thirty years, when I was on the "sod" the mother's right prevailed regarding breeding in England and on the Continent and in this country in thoroughbred horses. Ethnologists know how completely it once prevailed in human institutions and does still in places. The ignorance and tyranny of the Church has even sought to rob mothers of their children. There is no inquisitorial indignity to which the Church has not subjected woman. Even so-called "liberal Christianity" has not freed woman. It has loosened up the joints of the salvation machine so it does not crush her altogether, and gives her room to escape—if she will. She will not, until she learns something of herself. Let us try! We shall find the story on the pages of the book of nature infallible. As usual, theology knows nothing, even if the clergy are said to be an educated body. Like thanksgiving turkeys they have become obese on the fat of the land. They are stuffed with undigested and indigestible tradition.

Beginning with the known and every-day demonstrable history of creation, in the lowest and simplest forms of life, we find the "mother right" only represented. There are no fathers! Bioplasm is invariably female in its primary manifestation, if by "female" we understand self-reproducing. Each mass of primary bioplasm, whether we call it monad, germ or amoeba, so long as it is a unit, multiplies by the fission or segmentation of its own body. On the principle that "like begets like," then, bioplasm must be primarily female. It must be admitted that femininity prevails all through evolution as the most important factor in self-reproduction. At the best and most the male is but an instigator to and not a promulgator of development. There is a most interesting and instructive fact in connection with the process of reproduction in the one-celled organism,—which continues all through evolution, though, naturally, becoming more and more complex. As has been shown in early pages, every ontogenetic or individual function of a living organism is primarily self-protective, as the result of the instinctive or natural irritability of bioplasm. I have never seen it stated, though it may have been time and again, that reproduction is in reality, in the evolutionary

sense, a necessity to self-protection. There is no intent, no purpose in nature. Reproduction was not and is not to continue the species. It is a natural result. It is hard for ordinary persons to conceive of action, especially action of a creative kind, being possible with an anthropomorphic intelligence behind it. In my opinion men who can think correctly must be bred and born to do so. Education cannot make them. It can retard or help them. Everything in nature is purposeless. All is the result of the action of material governed by fixed laws innate to it. Only man really proposes and disposes. He disposes of his reason when he proposes to follow Huxley and an "ethical process" which is but "a theory." Intimations of the ability are easily to be seen in the so-called animals. The primary function of all bioplasm, innate and peculiar to it, is self-nutrition. So long as it retains those chemical and physical relations between its parts which we call life, self-nutrition must continue. It is also a law of nature that the self-protective irritability of bioplasm, no matter in what form it may manifest itself, is not limited to just enough, there always is a plus of action, a certain degree of apparent waste; so, in the nutritive function of simple monadic bioplasm a certain plus of food is taken up, and this plus is reduced to bioplasm, enlarging the monad to a degree inconsistent with its continued existence as such; it must "split or bust" as children say; that is, its own over-weight of plus gives the cause to its splitting in two; thereby the individual self-protective irritability is retained by each neoplasm. Self-protection is the basis of the law of reproduction. The mammalian foetus is expelled, born, when it has grown to such a degree that the mother must expel it for her own self-protection. In other words, she must rid herself of her second self to protect her individual self. The foetus must become free. To remain confined longer is death. It does not express a teleological purpose in creation, or of a creator, but a result. It results in continuance of the species. Those having the best evolved self-protective irritability, intelligence, are the ones which survive the most comfortably. In this primary division both the old and new monad are composed of simple reproductive or feminine bioplasm.

Specific male irritation is not necessary. This kind of development is continued in the infusoria and even in some of the higher types. Here also, especially in the worms, we find hermaphroditism, that is, male and female generative organs in the same individual, as in the cestodes or tape-worms. The differentiation due to the necessities of self-protection in a more heterogeneous environment is not from male to female, but from female to male. In other words, bioplasm retains its extra feminine character. When we come to a distinct male and female differentiation in the animal kingdom, the male is always an insignificant creature, and after having performed his initiating function dies. The lack of self-protecting power in males, or great infirmity in that direction, continues well up in evolution, and we even see it in the disgusting dependence of men on their wives. The males lack character until we get to such a high degree of intellectual evolution, that the law of self-protection assumes such importance as to come, even now, close to nullifying all tendency to marriage in both males and females. It is disgusting to observe things in the shape of men, especially country people, and see the old wife, almost invariably the weaker of the two, bodily, have to take care of man and baggage in the crowds of the city. The very fact that the home hangs on the mother indicates the superiority of femininity in evolution and contradicts the theological traditions. Again, in every mammalian foetus, before differentiation of sex takes place, the prepotent tendency for some time is female. "Woman's rights" ruled the world until the vicissitudes of environment called man more practically into action as a protective agent. Up to that time he was cast off by the female as soon as she was done with him, much the same as it occurs in the animal world to-day. In this book I cannot go into all the details of proof of the assertions made. It will serve its purpose if it awakens interest in such questions. Should that be done, and a demand made for scientific proof, a series of such works will be written of a far different character from this, which may be called an "Advance guard on the limits of intellectual development." Enough has been said to show that the Biblical account of creation

has not even a shadow of truth to stand on. The female preceded the male. The differentiation into male and female was certainly a self-protective necessity, and the continuance of the species in the same lines a result of such necessity. The greater the consciousness of self-protection, the stronger do we see individuality developed. This irritant is the cause of all social movements. It is at the bottom of the woman's movement.

The so-called primary appetites are directly connected with the three inalienable properties of bioplasm due to its innate irritability, viz.:

1. Self-nutrition.
2. Surplus or vicarious nutrition.
3. Reproduction.

Reproduction is self-evidently the termination and final result of all the attributes of matter. It is the culminating self-irritation of functional bioplasm. Speaking teleologically, when a unit of bioplasm has reproduced itself, its mission is ended, unless it be to keep up the same process. Speaking truly, reproduction is a physiological result so long as the nutritive irritability of the plasma continues to such a degree as to necessitate it. In order that reproduction shall occur, there must be a plus of nutrition assumed and a plus of self produced, and the irritation caused by this plus of self within self, gives rise to birth as previously stated. Apply that law to man. If this statement is understood it is easy to be seen that the continuation of species is not connected with any definite purpose. The continuation of the human species, even in the better class of society, is characterized by less intelligent reflection with regard to the offspring and individual responsibility on the part of parents than probably any other act in the drama of life.

The history of human creation as given in Genesis is not a fiat as the theologians claim. It is simply an early attempt to account for the existence of things, and the fiat "to be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth" must be taken simply as the record of results which any one who uses his eyes must be cognizant of. That, in the biological-species sense, "like begets like" must have been a very early acquired knowledge by man. Recognizing his own part as a creator in this marvelous

drama it is no wonder that man should have assumed a Creator-magnus, or universal creating spirit or power, and given it more or less anthropomorphic characteristics. It is a universal law of all living bioplasm that, as differentiated into species, each species should produce its kind; and while we of to-day can give a far more detailed and minute account of these manifestations, we cannot state it more implicitly than those early writers.

As has been indicated in earlier pages, when the miseries of life and terrors of death had impressed themselves on the human mind, man began to reflect on these phenomena and ask why they were? He, rightly, first placed their cause in the fact of birth, and looking on woman, also rightly, as the chief factor in reproduction, made her the cause of all his evils, and in his ignorance cursed her for it. Does not Job substantiate the above when he says :

“ Man that is born of a woman is of few days and full of trouble. He cometh like a flower and is cut down ; he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not ? ”

This gloomy yet true picture of life must have found its origin with the priesthood, for they then represented the highest and best philosophical development among the people. While in reality unjust to woman, for man is also an important factor in the continuation of the species, nevertheless, according to that verdict, if woman was the cause of all the evils to which human flesh is heir, the good must be equally attributed to her. The insignificance of pre-historic man could not have been more sharply portrayed than the theologians have done it. It is only of late years that the most intelligent men have risen to that degree of manliness to properly respect woman's place in nature. There is much left to be done in relation to her actual position as mother. It is a striking fact that the civil law, while it recognizes the woman's right to an inheritance in her husband's property as wife, that it does not acknowledge any superior or greater obligations in the same direction to the woman as mother.

DOGMA AND THE SOCIAL EVIL.

That the theological dogma of the "fall of man" through the temptations of Eve has worked an indescribable evil to woman in every social relation has long been recognized by thinking women and admitted by men of broad education and unbiased intelligence. By advocating this tradition of the "fall of man" has not the Church, unwittingly to be sure, given strong support to the so-called "social evil?" Has it not virtually taught that all nature, including woman, was made for the glory and enjoyment of man? Is not ignorance of the laws of nature and, hence, our inability to live accordingly, the sole cause of all misery? Has not the Church, in its whole history, been following in the course advocated by Mr. Huxley and inspired man to one continuous combat with and against nature, rather than teaching him to walk in her paths? Have we not, in our ignorance, continually contributed to making the struggle for existence still more bitter for thousands by failing to recognize that other part of the law, the survival of the fittest, and attempting intelligently to meet it? Look at the number of ill-bred children, too weak physically and mentally to survive in any comfort to themselves or others! Think of so much misery having its real origin in the uncontrolled lusts of the male species, and then talk about parental intelligence. It seems to me sublimely ridiculous when a clergyman prays for the soul of a woman dead in childbirth, when we realize that it has been the doctrine of the subserviency of woman to man, regardless of her own desires and welfare, which has been the real cause of her death. Women, as wives, still know that they must sacrifice themselves bodily, but they should know that there is no law of nature which demands that they should offer their very lives for such purposes. It is amusing to hear unreflecting people condemn the brutality of Mormonism to woman. Mormonism is more merciful to woman than our system of Christian ethics. All other churches, except the Mormon, go against the laws of

nature. The Mormon course is the natural one. The Christian the unnatural. Every student of ethnology who is not a slave to traditional ignorance knows that the evolution of the family proves that to be true. The primary principle of the "mother's right" proves it. All nature proves it.

But the "Decalogue" says: "Thou shalt not commit adultery." Let it stand at that a few moments. As previously mentioned, there were no restrictions on the relations of the sexes in the first fiat ever given to man according to the biblical record. The moral law against committing adultery came much later. Adultery means the gratification of the desire outside of wedlock by one or the other so united. Let us take the Church by its chief ethical standard, Jesus of the Gospels.—What did he say? Did he not say: "But I say unto you that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her committeth adultery with her already in his heart?"

Judged by that standard of ethics where is there a Christian fitted to enter into the kingdom of heaven? The fact is that at the time the gospels were written, or the events they treat of were supposed to have occurred, it was considered that the world was coming to an end, and hence that it was useless to go on any further with earthly things. We often see the repetition of this ignorance in one form or another quite frequently among us. No man ever could, or ever did, follow out the above standard of sexual morality. It is contrary to nature.

It is evident from what Paul says in his letter that he understood that the immorality which he so strenuously urges should be avoided by those especially professing the faith, is not conformable to the highest welfare of society. But in the precept which he sets before those to whom he writes he consigns women to degradation, to save the men from temptation. I have never seen anything human so near a mere chattel as the Christian farmer's wife in the west; and, in general, the more church, the more children and the more drudgery. One of these poor slaves to bigotry and superstition once said: "The position of a western farmer's wife is that of man, horse and dog on the place." While the man must go

to town to loaf and whittle up the dry-goods boxes the woman must labor and bear children at home. The motherly instinct is the most profoundly grand phenomenon in nature; but theology and man's brutality have made it the curse of womanhood. I am for woman first, last and all the time, woman high and woman low, woman fortunate and woman unfortunate. I would remove them from the curse of ignorance by showing them that theology has forged and riveted their chains. It is those whom the brutes of theology have driven out in whom I am particularly interested. To those who preach the doctrine, as a divine ordinance, that woman has not a right to her own person, whether married or single, I say, Let him who never looked on a woman with desire cast the first stone at an unfortunate woman, who, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, has been the victim of a man's false promises; who simply accepted the doctrine of the Church.

The law of individualism works in this matter as in everything else. He who has the means—money—to obtain and maintain a wife may safely apply Paul's doctrine. If he has money society will not question his act uncomfortably closely. The whole teaching and example of the world, human as well as animal (the exceptions are so few as to be powerless), is in the direction of the sexual immorality. No sooner does the boy begin to read and listen to elders than he learns that infernal theological lie, that woman was made for man, and the only idea he has for her is as a creature to gratify his lusts. The girls are brought up with the same idea, that that is one of the noble purposes for which God made them. Neither the mother, the clergy, nor the school instructs them how to deport themselves so as to protect themselves from the dangers and accidents of life. Our girls enter on their most fateful mission in profound ignorance of its responsibilities and the law of self-protection. We are told that it is God's will and woman should suffer and die in the perils and pangs of childbirth. She too often does.

Every one who reads the story of creation and preaches the doctrine that "in Adam's Fall we sinned all" teaches and supports prostitution, whether he knows it or not.

Let me tell you, too, something else; those little boys are natural; you only aid and abet nature when you tell them, either by teaching the theological tradition, or your own example, "That is what women were made for." On the contrary, the theological woman is the most unnatural of all products. Let me give the ethical key which theologians, parents, and instructors may borrow from science. Natural law says: Man was made for woman when she wants him and not when he wants her. Natural law says, the female only should desire the male when in the course of nature reproduction should result. Never otherwise!

Theology has put the shoe on the wrong foot in this as in everything else. There cannot a boy grow up in our schools or on our streets, and there is not one, who does not look on a woman as his peculiar property, and every man he meets or hears talk tells him the same thing, for "does not God command it and the Church and the law enforce it?"

"They do not," protests the orthodox.

Let us see! Suppose one of these modern semi-emancipated women actually thinks some male lynx, who desires her, is more supra-human than he is (he is her fetich), and consents to marry him. It is not long before the veil of reality is lifted. They cannot agree! He thinks he loves her, and she likes him well enough, at a distance. He will not agree to her untheological ideas. She applies for a divorce. If the true grounds should be given, I assert that there is not a judge or a law in the land which would not condemn the woman back to degrading slavery. Who will tell me that the Church would not endorse the law? Like theology, the law generally is but the evidence of traditional ignorance. If it represented axiomatic truth the profession of lawyers would be *non est*.

The Pauline doctrine, is most decidedly individualistic, for men should not marry unless they can "pay the piper." It is admitted on all sides, by sensible men, that there is too much of this marriage business, simply because men cannot contain. The young have not attained a sufficient idea of the law of self-protection to realize the responsibilities following naturally on marriage, or even sexual gratifi-

cation. Why should they? Who sets our youths an example? Where are they properly instructed?

But we are face to face with the fateful question, what shall that great army of men do who have not the means to marry, and to provide for the responsibilities of such a life? In answering such a question too many persons are very apt to forget that such men are males even as much as we who are more fortunately placed financially. "Well, then, let them marry," is the answer one receives from people with skulls, but no brains so far as one can learn. Let us stick to the "upper crust" for a moment, because it largely supports the "upper crust" of prostitution also. There is nothing like a practical case. In a certain city there still lives a very wealthy merchant with three children, two daughters and a son. Some years since, the father, who, by the way, is an orthodox of the most decent sort, though strict, came to me about the habits of his only son, whom he accused of "keeping a woman," and desired that I, as a physician, should fix it so "he could, if necessary, have the woman arrested." The effects of theology at once crop out: "Damn the woman!" is its word of comfort. I at once asked him, "What for?" "To get her away from my son." Now I happened to know that the son sought the woman out, as it is in most cases. (Let me interpolate that cases of seduction are tolerably rare on the part of our best bred young men in the country. Family and social self-respect keep them within some bounds.) I asked the father "what good that would do." "Well, he might behave himself then." The facts, were these: The father came from Vermont at sixteen years old, and at twenty sent for a Vermont girl and married her, and lived as such people do and can still on five hundred a year in two or three rooms. He became a millionaire and made an entirely different environment for his children. With his daughters he was just. He married them off and gave them each \$250,000 as a dowry. As to the son (the father was an outcome of Puritanism and that worst phase of New England bigotry which lives in a dead past), he was to take care of himself and "work his way up as I did." The young man, twenty-three, lived at home, used his father's horses, etc., went into the best society, but was in a store at \$1,500 a year "working his

way up." The parents forgot the change in environment they had made for him and the manner in which they had brought him up. Suppose he had followed Paul's advice and married the daughter of some childhood neighbor of the old folks in the hills of Vermont, and gone into a tenement of the same kind his parents did, and in the social surroundings of to-day, what would have been the result? In ninety-nine times in a hundred the women of the young man's family would rebel, and in the end the young wife and mother would be deserted, perhaps in a delicate condition also. [In reading this to a friend as I was correcting the MS. he told of a most respectable and excessively "Honorable" father in Boston with half a million who cut off one of his sons merely for marrying a poor girl. As I shall say again, socialism must protect itself in all such cases. No matter what a child does, socialism should break every will disinheriting it. In fact, the law should make it impossible to disinherit a child. Every child should share alike. For reasons, a father may trustee a child's inheritance and give it the income only. That is in the interest of society in case of a wayward child.] A divorce would be obtained, and the young wife and innocent child too often turned loose on the world. Home, she cannot go, for did she not marry "old Croesus'" son? How many Christian parents are there who have performed this distardly act? How few such "Christians" (?) realize that this is one of the sources which supplies the social evil with its victims? The woman alluded to by the fond parent had exactly that history. Let the physicians become social reformers and every church in the land would be leveled by indignant women.

During our consultation I pointed out to the father of the wayward young man several facts which he had evidently ignored or appeared to have forgotten—in short, we discussed the matter in a manner which was most convincing and satisfactory to him. The old gentleman took my advice, thanked me and went home more of a Christian than he ever was in his life. He took his son into business the next day, gave him an income conformable to what the father's exertions had made necessary; gave him a talking to, and told him to hurry up and find some young lady in his own society and get married.

The unfortunate one was cast off without warning to take her chances in the hell Christian theology and society have made for her. Woman's kindness to woman has become proverbial. Right here is the place to say that 99-100ths of the unfortunate women are the victims of misplaced confidence in men. Not an inconsiderable number came from such a source as indicated in the above narrative. A tremendous majority have been driven from their homes by indignant Christian parents. In no case is the man blamed by society. We see the most notorious "men about town," if rich, welcomed everywhere and carrying off the most beautiful of our social prizes. To that there may be no objection, but there is a most serious wrong in the condemnation of woman by that same society. There are more cases of cast-off wives, divorced unknown to themselves, or actually driven off and then divorced "for desertion," than the outside world knows of. The only trouble with the poor women is that the world has so long damned them to slaves' positions that they do not realize they can have any other. Their individualism has never been developed. They have been so long dependent that they have no idea what self-dependence means. They do not know how to look out for themselves. Even as outcasts they feel their dependence on man. If they would only look on man as their natural enemy, their despoilers, and realize, as men do, that neither God nor any other power but self will take care of them, and look on men as man looks on them, as their natural victims, and save their money, there is no reason they could not soon have a competency. But society puts such a brand on them as to stamp all self-respect out of the greater number, and they cannot be urged to do this. There are some who do. The class of unfortunates which particularly interest us are all the victims of man's selfishness, but the individual man is scarcely to blame. The church and society have taught him that "woman was made for him" and he has never known when he did not believe it.

THEOLOGY AND DIVORCE.

"The Lutheran general synod has adjourned. Appropriations were allowed, which will make the assessment eighty-three cents on each communicant and such an assessment was ordered. A

few years ago the Iowa district synod asked the general synod to pass on the question of marriage and divorce. The memorial was referred to a committee and reported on substantially as follows :

“ ‘ Your committee, recognizing the great importance of the matter and the high necessity of keeping the action of the church and the ministry in clear harmony with the law of marriage as revealed in God’s word offers the following :

“ ‘ Resolved, That the marriage service by the ministry of the church can be properly given only under the conditions, relations and limitations set forth in that divine law, which the church and ministry represent.

“ ‘ Resolved, That the synod understands the divine law as allowing no dissolution of the marriage bonds except for the one cause specified, viz., adultery, and consequently as not permitting the remarriage of persons divorced on other grounds or of the guilty party in the case of a legitimate divorce.”

It is social and theological tyranny to force people who cannot agree to live together. All socialism has to do is to protect the children and itself. Any two people not having children should be able to divorce themselves by appearing before a judge and declaring their union ended and publishing a copy of the record in the papers.

How little do those blind idiots know of the laws of physiology! Under general conditions the more natural physiological irritability is indulged in the more does it demand indulgence. It may not be generally known to the clergy, that fully one-half of those who support the better class of prostitutes are married men. Many of them support the Church. Some men talk “religion” to the women while destroying them. It may not be known to them that the cause of this is that their wives are not able to “fulfill their marriage obligations.” Every time a man is divorced for any cause, and any church puts a ban on his re-marriage, that act not only contributes support of prostitution, but, according to the nature of the man, is liable to endanger the virtue of young women. The Church which opposes the remarriage of a divorced man often lets a betrayer and ravaging wolf loose on society.

In general, the unfortunate woman has no truer friend than the intelligent physician, and yet that same friend is one of the chief supporters of her unfortunate business. The physician joins with the ignorance of the rest of the world, and accepts Paul’s doctrine that God made

woman especially to serve the purpose of keeping men moral through their self-sacrifice. There is as much hypocrisy in the medical profession as in the theological; in fact they often join hands. Let us stop this senseless pursuing of the unfortunate women in our cities until we are ourselves without sin. At the same time let us do our utmost to protect them against abuse and robbery by the police or other extortioners.

Which is the most to be respected, the poor unfortunate driven to let her body for a living by an ignorant fetich-worshiping and false society, or the woman who, under no necessity, but for mere social vanity and pride buys a man (?) and sells her womanhood?

Whatever others may say I dare affirm that my respect is for the outlaw.

MONEY MAKES VIRTUE.

"Money makes virtue." It buys it too. It wins it also. In the face of society I dare affirm that nowhere in nature can there be found a single suggestion or cause for the condemnation of the relations of the sexes when the natural irritations lead to it.

Marriage is not of nature. It is a socialistic ordinance under natural conditions. The instinct to copulation is an innate irritability common to all bioplasm. In the evolution of life it finally has become differentiated in two sets of organs, male and female. The two make one. In this process of sexual differentiation the sexual irritability of the male has become a constant and almost insatiable attribute. Men can control themselves if they are made to by an environment which condemns all sexual intercourse, except at woman's request, and women are educated that it is a disgrace to make such requests except with the desire of maternity. But, so long as the whole world is full of one studied endeavor to augment sexual irritability, and its precept and example all favor its indulgence, one might as well blow at the winds as talk continence to men, and generally to women also, so far as their marital relations are concerned. On the contrary, in the female animal it is never constant, occurring variably and generally at stated intervals, and never under natural conditions occurring except when she

should produce. In nature the female is protected. In human nature she is neither protected, nor will the Church or society allow her to protect herself. The pregnant woman is the only female who either allows or has to allow maternity to be degraded by the approach of the male. Nature protects every female when pregnant but the human. It was not always so. In the days of maternal rights, the pregnant woman was as safe from male insult as the pregnant tigress from her fiery lord. Not the Church of Christ but woman is rising. She will soon assume her natural dignity and self-respect. Our whole system of living has been to produce inordinate sensuality so long as we have any historical records. To-day reaches the climax. Look at our theaters, at our illuminated literature. It is all one seething maelstrom, boiling over with the filth of animal sensuality. It is the principal factor which supports women in society or out. What is to be expected of youths brought up in such an environment? How can their elders remonstrate with them when they show them no becoming example? As for the girls, they are protected by infinitely less desire; and again, in general, no such uncontrollable irritability generates in woman before puberty as does in the boys, stimulated as it is through every agency of the sensual deviltry inspired by their sires, elders and surroundings. This question has never been honestly discussed, and I am not able to publish this part of my book as originally written, because of the ban of the postal authorities, so that what does appear is but an abortive attempt to tell the truth. If we are to save ourselves we must be permitted to take our gloves off and tell the truth as it is. The public press can reek in the filth of the police and divorce courts, but a book devoted to the causes at the bottom of the corruption and their exposure cannot be published, not being pure enough to go in the same mails which carry the daily papers. Again, even the ignorant and unjust condemnation of woman by society which sees nothing in the dear boys but a little natural wildness, does serve to inspire some self-protecting control in our girls. Woman! Woman! it is well that nature has thrown her protecting arms around you even as well as she has, in lack of desire and

fear of pains and death! Theology has dug your hell, and society is ever ready to dump you into it.

Society mildly passes over but does not condemn the man who has the money to maintain a woman without marriage. It pardons the man and crowns him with its fairest jewels. It condemns the woman, however. I have actually heard such cases talked over among mothers, and remember distinctly hearing one quite estimable mother remark as to her prospective son-in-law: "Oh, Charley could not help it. That designing creature got hold of him, and if he had not fallen in love with —— (her daughter) she would have ruined him." The brothers of the daughter and many other male friends knew that "Charley" had pursued the woman in question some years, until adversity threw her into his hands. The "adversity" of new and fresher attractions threw her out again. It is all money, the ability to obtain and maintain. Where that ends, crime begins under social laws in this case. Let the women alone, save to educate them and treat them as human beings. Let us leave off condemning them, educate both men and women as to their physical and moral rights. Let every man take up the cause of woman and apply to himself the words of Jesus, "He who is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone." Let us remove the mote of sexual sin from ourselves before we condemn the beam of indulgence which woman gives us.

What a brute and a coward man is! Of all the brutes and cowards, theology has thus far succeeded in producing the lowest, and that is the man who would punish the woman whom he himself has first made his slave, and then, after over-surfeiting himself cast off "to be trampled under foot" by other men. As man made woman his slave it is man's duty to free her.

THE EMANCIPATION OF A WOMAN.

"My sister! ¹ have you thought, how can it be that God
Would make a child like thee and make her miserable,
Since, if an all-powerful and loving father, he leaves you so.

¹ Changed from "Light of Asia,"

He is not God, he is not power, he is not love ?
Aye ! He is not God !
When thou hast that found out,
Searching for what none yet have found, thou hast discovered
The hidden balm I have to give thee.
Ah ! sister ! seek
Naught from a helpless God by prayer and hymn,
Nor turn thy longing eyes to craven priests,
Within yourselves deliverance must be sought,
Man has your prison made."

The secret of the complete emancipation of woman is the absolute individualization of woman. She must act to protect herself, her only subjugation being her own intelligent allegiance to the laws of her nature as woman. To understand this question we must follow the advice of Thomas Paine, and, discarding all human precedent, go back to primitive or natural conditions, and think as if we were the first and only people. "Back to Nature," woman, and there shall you find the rock of thy salvation. Back ! back ! beyond the traditions of the Church, beyond the limits of theological knowledge, is writ a history that shows woman's place in nature. Remember that when we depart from nature and introduce artificial masonry that we follow theology and build a house of misery on the quicksands of error. By showing beyond question that all bioplasm primarily possesses femininity, that is productivity, and that if there ever was a rib lost it must have been woman who lost it, and that male bioplasm has been evolved from female, or hermaphroditic, and not theologically, we at once see that in the earliest ages woman must have been the center of evolution so far as human society is concerned. Traces of this truth are still with us. The "old-fashioned" way of knowing the mother as "mother" is a tribute to the original and primary "mother's right." There is no savage nation, of which we have any record, that has not more respect for the mother's right than the most civilized of to-day. The essential attribute of this primary mother's right period was that the women possessed as much, and often more, individualism than the man. It was pure nature undefiled by the Church or the arts of society. It was the animal man and the animal woman, each for themselves.

"But from the beginning of creation God made them male and female, and they twain shall be one flesh. What, therefore, God hath joined, let no man put asunder." Why not, "That which Nature has individualized let not man seek to make one"?

There was "no marriage or giving in marriage." It is true that the men were purely animals, but I much doubt if they were anywhere near so much so in uncontrollable sexual irritability as the men of to-day. It is true that they would overcome a woman by violence if they could. It is more true, and women do not forget this, that there was neither Church, nor law, no known or unknown God, to say, "The wife (woman) hath not power of her own body." The woman could resist, and we have every evidence that she did. The Church and society have legalized the violence of the natural man and removed entirely the right of self-protection due to the might of the natural woman. Leaving the question of might entirely out of consideration, it can be said that under natural individualistic conditions a woman would never allow a man to approach her unless she wanted him, and she would never want him unless the natural oestrus overcame all the cautions of experience, if woman suffered the "pains of childbirth" to any severe degree in such conditions. In this sense women then deported themselves just as other female animals. They permitted the attention of the male when nature put them into such a condition they could not help it. At other times "distance lent enchantment to the view." Under those simple conditions sexual desire on the part of women must not have been very frequent, as we find them generally limited to two or three births in their child-bearing ability. Primitive society is simple and natural; it is free from the curses of traditional theology. It studies things "in the original;" it took its cue from the animal world, and we find, as repeatedly noted, that the pregnant woman was as respected by the males as the pregnant animal is. The first crystallization of mankind looking toward any form of social conditions was the maternal family. The children were the mother's, and the child's nearest relatives and protectors were the mother's family,

the mother's eldest brother being her chief supporter and the male head. The actual father amounted to nothing whatever. Just here is a lesson which modern society needs to take to itself. If there is no question as to the mother's influence on the children being unfavorable to their welfare as members of society, in case of divorce the children should ever go with the mother, and the father should be made to support them.

Socialism should never permit a man to enter on a second marriage until he has provided for the support and education of the children of the first, and the support of the mother so long as she is true to them. Not the husband, but a special "guardianship court" should control these things. The same precaution, to a rational degree, should be exercised by the State in granting licenses to marry. It is the duty of society to protect possible children and itself from the ignorance and thoughtlessness of humanity.

In the early family the mother's relatives assumed the place of modern socialism to a degree unknown at present. With the augmentation in the severity of environment due to internal family concurrence, the actual father of the children comes more into importance, and eventually, as the penalty of civilization makes its effects, woman becomes more prolific, and her maternal instincts and duties cause her to forsake her "maternal rights," and the law of self-protection (including her young) eventually leads to masculine supremacy.

MARRIAGE.

The early union of the sexes, when mutual, was, as in any other animals, simply the instinctive following the results of sexual irritation. The young is the natural result. There was no marriage in the age of maternal rights. Marriages are not made in heaven, nor were they ordained in hell, though many have a full allotment of the latter in them.

In my readings of the works on the evolution of social institutions, I have been surprised at the position taken by the majority of the authors on the origin of marriage. Many of them seem to assume that the mere living

together of a man and woman in the early conditions of society constitutes marriage, an idea in which it is impossible for me to agree. For instance, Westermarck, in a comparatively recent work (*"History of Marriage,"* London, 1891, p. 19), defines marriage as "nothing else than a more or less durable connection between a male and female, lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till the birth of the offspring." Starke (*"Die primitive Familie,"* Leipzig, 1888, p. 13) says: "Marriage is a connection between a man and a woman which is of more than momentary duration, and so long as it endures they seek subsistence in common."

The objection to the idea conveyed in the above definitions is that there is no recognition of marriage as a social institution, which it surely is, by which it is sought to regulate or fix the responsibility for the natural and probable result of sexual union. While it may be difficult to positively fix the period in which such attempts at sexual regulation first appeared in social evolution, it appears to me that a due regard for the true nature of marriage as a social-protective institution must lead to its establishment.

The institution known as marriage first came into vogue after the maternal-right period had passed away, and when society found it necessary to fix the responsibilities of parentage on some one in order to take the burden off itself. A true definition of marriage is: A contract which society forces on a man and woman in order to fix the responsibility of parentage for its own protection. Nothing more! Physiological conditions make it impossible to fix the responsibility on the woman entirely, and so the idea of maternal rights passed away, to the injury of and injustice to woman.

Regarding divorce, where there are no children, or the children are self-supporting, or either parent is willing to assume the support of the children and give security so to do to the State, socialism should put no obstructions in the way of people separating. The quicker they part the better for all concerned. No restriction should be put on re-marriage, except such as has been stated.

Woman can only attain her true position when she once more returns to her natural individualism and asserts her

right to say not only when she desires to have a child, but **who shall** be the father of it.

Any relation of the human sexes for the purpose of sexual gratification only is prostitution, it matters not whether legalized by society, sanctified by the Church, or endorsed by physicians.

THE LAW OF SEXUAL MORALITY.

The Church claims to have had the monopoly over the morals of society given to it by God. Like all trusts it is breaking to pieces of its own weakness. The idea of an institution founded on ignorance claiming authority over the most vital of all human institutions. The Church knows nothing of morality. Social morality is summed up in the Golden Rule. It is expedient and not standard. Every one of the ten commandments can and should be broken under certain conditions, and it so accorded by the laws and condoned by society. On the other hand, there is a morality in which there is no policy, in which there is no expediency, in which there is no question as to what is right. This moralify the Church knows nothing about. Physiological morality is based on the laws controlling the material action of man. It depends on knowing the structure of man and the uses it has in the economy of nature. A study of this kind shows that man has not an iota of difference in structure, not an organ, not a cell, not anything, though the gross form may vary, from the balance of the mammalia. Every organ has the same anatomical structure, the action of which, according to innate law, produces the same physiological results. Wherever there is a difference in action it is more of a qualitative than quantitative nature, but, in general, the structural differentiations on which such divergency depends cannot be demonstrated. Nowhere is this so true as in the organs of intelligence. The same laws govern action all through. They are the same for man as for all other animals.

Œstrum, sexual irritability, is simply the natural incentive to copulation from which results continuation of the species.

Any use of the sexual organs for any other purpose is

prostitution. Marriage for sexual gratification either in whole or part is legalized prostitution. Nothing more! The Church and society have made it so. In all nature no grounds can be found for sexual relations except procreation. The theological doctrine that marriage makes man and woman one, while based on a natural truth, in that it takes the two sexes to complete the act which under the simplest conditions is done by one-celled or hermaphroditic organisms, is nevertheless a most unnatural and degrading condition of things. It degrades man and makes of him an object beneath a beast. Nothing but veneration for ignorance enables him to preserve his self-respect.

This "one" idea and its results throw men and women so intimately together as to almost smother respect for decency and refinement. For a time it gives undue license to sexual irritability, and then, in many cases, causes more or less disgust when the charm of newness has worn off. Woman, on her part, cannot help being disgusted at the unnatural degradation she is put to. What natural passion she may have is either killed out from disgust, or restrained from fear of the results. Another result is often that fetich of social terror, adultery on the man's part. All self-respecting people should have separate rooms if they can possibly afford it. It is often amusing to hear unthinking women tell another, where the husband really has some respect for his wife, and they have separate rooms, "Why, your husband does not love you." Women themselves have been so erroneously misled by society, that they think any falling off in sexual irritability on the part of their husbands is an indication that he no longer loves as he once did. While I will not deny that there is a sexual attraction of almost uncontrollable violence, I do deny that it is essential to the highest love. On the other hand, often it is death to it. It may be said that the average people have not yet sufficiently evolved beyond the stage of animal attraction. I cannot comprehend how any highly educated man can so lower himself as to desire relations with a pregnant woman, or how a refined woman can so insult her maternity as to permit it. Yet "religion" (?) and social

laws and even the physicians give it their endorsement. I say to men, for the sake of the highest decency respect your wives. I say to the wives, do have as much respect for yourselves as a female animal does in the same condition. Woman has her own fate in her hands. She must assert her individuality. We must teach physiology in our schools, not theological, but natural, and make it the fundamental law of education that the highest duty of man is to know himself. No woman should ever allow herself to be approached except she actually desires a child, and, that accomplished, should demand complete isolation from her husband, except in the matters of platonic companionship. Our youth must be taught that the necessities of society demand rigid self-control. That they cannot any longer be natural men. That they are living in artificial conditions. They should know and feel that the height of human evolution is that complete mental development which enables a man to subject himself to the natural laws of his species. Every educated man and woman should pride themselves on the subjugation of their sexual irritability to its one natural purpose, procreation. Every abuse of this purpose for sexual gratification alone is prostitution. One of the first fetiches to be removed is the false idea which the world has of love. The most exalted love is the most profound development of self-gratification. We like or love that the most which is of the most value to us. Love is based on the law of use. No man loves a woman for her sake, but because she, more than anything else, gives him that which he desires most. It is the same of woman. So far as man is concerned, he has not generally evolved beyond sexual gratification as the one thing he lives and works for. There are but few exceptions to that rule. Any man who has concourse with the world, and is man enough to admit the truth, knows I speak it. Outside of gaining the means to indulge it, the sexual passion is still the all-controlling force. Moralists must first attend to the motes in their own character before they pretend to advise others to remove the beams from theirs. The top must set the example for the less gifted strata. Few realize the

tremendous force there is in an unfavorable environment. Let the most advanced men and women to-day begin this work, and show the coming generation, by their own lives, that they can practice according to natural laws, and then we can talk to our sons, and not before. So long as we live as we now do, so long as the Church supports the moral degradation of married women, and the law enforces it, so long have we no right to throw one single stone or slur at the unfortunates among women. It is no use arguing with ignorance and the medical profession that "it is necessary to health." The world is full of evidence to the contrary. I know it is when we put our children into a sexual electric machine from early youth, and surround them with every excitator to sexual irritability by our example. Our whole manner of life is given to the development of sensuality, and our whole study is how to gratify it. These who have money do it without generally falling into social disgrace. Those who have not do the best they can.

MARRIAGE REALLY A HUMBUG.

In asserting that, I must not be taken to assert that marriage is not the best "make-shift" at present possible for society to bring forward whereby to protect itself against the burdens of parental irresponsibility. We cannot do better now, but that is not saying that we shall never be able to do better. I believe the acme of human evolution to be that degree of self-control that our entire appetites shall be subject to the laws of nature, so that we can assert we have mastered self. When we have done that, man is God. That day will come. Some of our grandest women have arrived there already.

Marriage is a humbug in so far as it does not produce the effects desired. Let us see again what is marriage? It is the attempt of socialism to so regulate the sexual relations by contract between the parties as to insure, to the best possible degree, the support of the children, by fixing the responsibility of production where it belongs.

Marriage is an absolute failure as it is, because it does not regard the hereditary health of the offspring, mentally or physically.

We all know that the arrangement is more or less a failure, but we do not stop and think what are the causes thereof? Let us consider the position of the wife from the points of view of Lord Bacon, as mistress, as companion and as nurse. Certainly that removes all romance from the consideration and brings it down to the stern reality of facts.

It has already been pointed out that women do not possess sexual irritability, either to any such degree as the world teaches men they do, or as it is developed in the male. One of the most demoralizing effects of the removal of this illusion is to create disappointment on the one side and disgust on the other. The end is that the man "takes his medicine," and breaks the Biblical commandment. The woman knows it and has not sense enough not to be unhappy, because she has been educated to expect unlimited possession. There is no remedy for this, except to educate people that such should not be the purpose of marriage. Marriage should have but one purpose, and that is, reproduction. It should not be for anything else. As things now are it is a wonder it is as successful a social drama as it even is in the best society, though, if the truth were admitted, its chief success is among the less well-to-do classes, especially among the Catholics, for these, either lack of money or respect for tradition, keeps the men pretty generally constant. The inconstancy of women is largely over-rated. They are driven to it by necessity, or abuse, and often at first to satisfy what they term the insult and neglect of their husbands in a spirit of revenge for his inconstancy. Many esthetic and supra-refined women may object to the idea that the intent of marriage is generally only to gratify the sexual passions. They do not tell the truth when they say so. They know better. It is because they do that they talk as they do. They fear some one will discover the family skeleton. There is nothing so "true" on earth as a true woman. Her only rival is the dog. Marriages are generally entered into too young to have any other purpose in view so far as man is concerned. I do not believe the majority of women look forward to that side of the picture with anything but distrust and dread, unless they have been locked up in

the house of ignorance, as too many are. Ante-nuptial methods are the most unhealthy that could be imagined.

A young man and woman "fall in love." Any one who will admit the truth knows that when they do so they are in general ignorant of their social responsibilities, and the younger they are their ignorance of course is the greater. Yet how many young people, when allowed the freedom of lovers' intercourse, never for a moment have thought but of upright conduct and pure conversation. I say now, that if our best young people can exert the self-control they now do, under most unhealthful social conditions, that under rational ones, with their whole environment supporting them by example and precept, from day of birth to manhood, that they can make it complete, and that sexual intercourse will not be a "necessity to health," as it now most surely is. Our young Bayard tells his lady "how much he loves her, that he cannot live without her." The whole story is well known in all its hysterical exaggeration. The young woman believes it all as well as does the lover. They think they could not possibly live without the other. Are they honest? Is the man honest? Let us expose the fetich! Hardly are they "made one flesh" by act of Church and society's consent, than the first thing the man does to this beloved object of his idolatry is to complete an act causing her immense pain and which, if it results naturally, will surely cause her more, and may cause her death. Admitting that this is all natural, still I ask, is that evidence of "a love which is greater than all?" I have often approached this subject to thinking men, without at first letting them know what I was "driving at," and then asked them if they would so treat and imperil the life of their dearest male friend? To the honor of these men I must say, that I never saw one who, after thinking a moment, did not admit the correctness of my position and say "they would not."

Let us stop a moment and think of this result of marriage in connection with Bacon's second proposition, "companionship." I say this, that no thinking man would expose his favorite dog to any such pains and dangers as he exposes the woman he claims "to love." I say further, if he does really love a woman he had better leave her single and be sure of her life, than to thus endanger his own

happiness. The fact is again, that the majority of marriages which are made so young would be total failures in the companionship sense if the contracting parties really had any intellectual development. Luckily they have not! They live a sort of supra-animal sensuality all their lives. They live for fun, and the only way they can find it is to bury themselves in what they call "excitement," which, for the life of me, I can't find in anything they do. Marriage would be a failure a thousand times more than it is, were actual companionship in any intellectual sense the test. The salvation of our marriage system is the children. They keep the home together. The maternal instinct forgets its torture-month (honeymoon) insults in the enjoyment of children and unites the husband with them. The youthful lover is lost in the maturer father. His "love" becomes the "mother" of the family. But in all this there is no real companionship. On what are companionship and true love actually based? On intellectual sympathies and a common interest in all that concerns each one's ambitions.

Marriages which are a success in that line are rare. They must be. People cannot stand such a test all the time. They tire. They want the stimulus of new ideas. Marriage is, generally, death to mutual intellectual advancement. Do not mistake that for "brain-stuffing." By that I mean reading together. Getting "cult-chawed" without the "cult." It is somewhat fortunate that the majority of intellectual men do not look for anything in that direction. They seek it in their own sex. They do not seek it in woman, because they know the danger of marrying. They know the prudery of society forbids natural social intercourse in man and woman. The right kind of women—they are rare—can give one a thousand times more aid, and call forth more originality in thought, than the best of men. In this regard marriage stands in the way of human happiness and evolution. Those who affirm that the institution of marriage is not to regulate child-production and parental responsibility, and that only, forget that it takes a brave man and woman to become the close friends they desire to, because of the finger of suspicion society points at them. Friends of that kind should never allow them-

selves to marry. The intimacies of married life and its constant associations are generally sure death to intellectual inspiration. People of that kind desire to see their friends when they want them, and at other times had rather be left alone. The truly "loving girl" who marries a young man, or *vice versa*, who gradually develops strong literary, artistic or other tastes, and does not and cannot follow him, might as well commit suicide. The best thing she can do is to ask for a divorce, unless she has children to save her. Once and a while one sees a woman of that kind who has that grandest of all unnatural female attributes, "the spirit of vicarious sacrifice," and who lives in an idolizing fetich worship; whose greatest delight is to know her husband finds what he likes most in some other woman's company. Such women will seek out entertaining friends for their husbands. They are above jealousy. Why? Because they have sense enough to know that such acquaintances do not lead to indiscretions. Such friendships as that are too rare not to be appreciated, and neither man nor woman would think of taking one step to endanger themselves. At present it is only under a noble wife's protection that such men and women can mutually benefit themselves by their common work. To such people marriage is a bar to happiness. If single, they know better than to risk their happiness by marriage; and yet, because of the falsity and ignorance of society, they are debarred from that mutual association which is their individual right. We are gradually assuming courage enough to scorn social ignorance and the might to exert our individualism. These are the people who now believe sexual intercourse either unnecessary or that it can be made so by education and example, and the continued pressure of an intelligent and morally exacting environment. They do not believe in miracles or revolution, but in evolution.

Marriage often ends in failure again in other ways. We will assume our young people to be highly educated but not among the wealthy. They are earnest and romantic. They are "true stuff" in the best sense of the word. He is devoted to her and she to him. They commence in a small way on a small salary. A child results. An accident or disease befalls the husband and father

and he dies. The wife is left with but little and has no one to aid her. Does love leave an idolized object and its fruits to thus battle with this terrible world? I will say to the clergy that such love as that has driven many a woman to sell her body to save her child. There is the divine instinct, love greater than God or Christ ever displayed. There is a vicarious sacrifice on the altar of human inconsiderateness greater than that of the Gospel Jesus.

True love is that divinely human instinct which leads one to sacrifice life for the object he or she prizes most. It is the sublimity of Egoism.

That being so, I assert that the sublimity of love can have no possible relation to sexual gratification. The results so liable to follow the gratification of lust are of such a nature that the word punishment or hate would better describe it. No wonder our forefathers were in constant mental conflict with their horrible God. No wonder some such story as the Fall in Paradise had to be created. It was the best men could do in their ignorance. But we know better! Let us raise ourselves to the height of manhood. We need not bother about the best developed of our women. "They are rising!" They need no Jesus! They can save themselves. In such a condition as that marriage is not necessary. It is elsewhere at present. We must begin at the top and work downward. We must teach humanity to appreciate the responsibilities of life, and that its fetich is so powerless that his very ministers admit "God only helps those who help themselves." The complete subjection of man to natural law will never be attained until intelligent people have contradicted the first fiat entirely. That is, until sexual irritability is so well controlled that both men and women absolutely control themselves and the command to be fruitful and multiply is completely annulled. "What, do you mean that the human race shall cease?" Boldly, what would be the harm if it did, if it could go out as master of itself? Of all supreme vanity, family vanity is the most disgusting, unless it speaks for supreme ability. Nothing is lost when a family name dies out. The females have as often given it honor as the males. They have never received the credit. Is not the fact of death

enough to admit that life is in reality a failure? We say of a dead man, "He did not live in vain, he lived for others." When alive people called him "a fool," unless a devotee to theological superstition. Sexual gratification must be admitted by all thinking people to be the most decidedly selfish act human beings can do. We all know it is indulged in either with reckless disregard of the consequences or by using every means to avoid them. Why not carry it to the full extent then and assume the highest responsibility man is capable of? The only sure way to avoid the result is to avoid the act. The national savagery of Christian Europe seeks to inspire a patriotism of the most inhuman kind. It seeks to inspire childbirth merely to kill it eventually. It prepares cannon food. Christians have their highest authority demanding that they should "contain" when Jesus is reported as saying, "But I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."

Then why not set the example?

If Jesus did live and say that, he said no more than I say, when I state that the highest possible evolution of man is that degree of sexual control that there is no such relation between the sexes and the production of children ceases.

Just what theology will do in that box is doubtful. Thus far in its history it has always refused to take its own medicine when cornered. When it suits the theologian he quotes the Old Testament, and again the New, but the Protestant Church tells us that Jesus is the supreme authority. Dr. Lorimer, as shown, tells us that what Jesus says is above our own reason, even. Here, then, we have the Gospel Jesus on the side of heresy to the first fiat to "be fruitful and multiply," for no man can obey that command without "looking on a woman to lust after her," and Jesus tells us that that is "committing adultery with her." It makes no difference if he does contradict that in other places when speaking of what "God hath joined let no man put asunder." There it stands! Absolute self-control! Even Paul advises the same thing (if it is possible).

We have found the answer which Buddha sought when he said :

“ My sister ! thou hast found,
Searching for what none finds, that bitter balm
I had to give thee. He thou lovedst slept
Dead on thy bosom yesterday: to-day
Thou know’st the whole wide world weeps with thy woe:
The grief which all do share grows less for one.
Lo! I would pour my blood if it could stay
Thy tears and win the secret of that curse
Which makes sweet love our anguish, and which drives
O’er flowers and pastures to the sacrifice—
As dumb beasts are driven—men their lords.
I seek that secret; bury thou thy child.”

The answer is, non-production. No higher crime can be committed than to introduce a child into the severities of the struggle for existence. Not till then will man be master over self. Who cares an iota whether humanity continues or not? The question is that it lives at as little misery as possible. To protect ourselves we must study and prevent the misery of others. The law of self-preservation is also a law of universal socialism. It contradicts reproduction.

It is true that, following out the law of natural individualism, the act of birth, or reproduction, is really an act of maternal self-protection, in that the child could no longer remain in utero except with danger to the mother; there is a mutual self-protective function exerted, for if the child is not “born” its life is also endangered. These conditions have no relation whatever with the social law of self-protection. Here we have to do with the child born—a question which is fully discussed in its proper place. The real question is why should women bear children? It is useless to say because it is the will of God, for the fiat of the second creation contradicts the first. As has been said, it is no kindness to a child to introduce it into this life. It is certainly a crime to it, and towards society, to produce a child which must be a burden to itself and the community if so born as to be unable to take care of itself. But the question is regarding woman. We say of men who with “eyes open” do things which cause them pain, misery, or even death, “What a fool!” Why should not the same be said of

women? The law of self-protection, as we call it, which is simply an invariable attribute of all living matter, is the so-called, "first law of life." There is but one great point where man stands incomparably beyond all other natural products: he can, through his evolved intellect, decide in what relation he will stand to nature. We really cannot say "an animal is a fool" if it does such and such things, for we know it has not the ability to decide whether it will or not. But man can! Will any one give one logical reason why women should place themselves in danger "of the perils and pains of childbirth," merely to gratify the natural sexual irritation of a man, if the knowledge thereof is sufficient to enable them to completely control their own desires in the same direction? Will any one deny that their intellectual position towards nature does not give them the might to decide this question for themselves, and having the might, owning their own bodies, why should they not make it their right? Is not life as dear to a woman as it is to a man? Should a woman seek pain and misery voluntarily when she can as well avoid it? It is all fetich that she should do any of these things. Society partially demands it of her in a Pauline sense. Ignorance may think it all right, but no educated and free mind can look calmly on these things and not say that it is pure nonsense. If the woman desires to be a mother no one has a right to say "No," provided she is physically and mentally fitted to be one—otherwise the time has come when society should pronounce a most imperative "No." Every child added to the world increases its burdens. It adds one to the struggle for existence. Those who do not support themselves are simply dead weight. We can get on without them. Even though intelligent woman refuses to bear the pains and perils of childbirth longer, there are so many millions who will go on in the same old way, that it will take all the intelligence the rest have to so look out for the senseless reproduction of others that we can live in safety and comfort. The entrance of women into the competitions of life is complicating the social struggles tremendously. By doing this, it is their bounden duty not to add to the dangers by senseless reproduction. Individualism, when so situated, takes advantage of the

competition of women and offers them lower wages than males receive, which they must accept or starve, or help out in some other way. Women have been forced into the struggle because there are not men enough to go round and support them. The number of men who can and will support them, as wives, is growing less and less because of the law of self-protection. Most men of some means cannot afford to marry and live in the environments their parents have made for them. Again, life's responsibilities are beginning to weigh on the best developed, and no true man desires to assume the responsibilities of marriage and parentage unless ready at once to provide for them in case of death.

The competition of women is lowering wages, and it cannot be helped. It is hitting where women do not always realize, and that cannot be helped also. Only a day or so since a case came to me where a concern discharged an old bookkeeper (not aged) and a tried man who had been in their employ for years. They paid him \$1,800. One of the partners had a distant relative, a widow with a child, also competent. They took her at \$1,000 a year. It is a terrible hardship on the man, as he has a family and some young children, and naturally has but little saved up. But this is the law of survival, not of the fittest always, but of those who can. The man is out of work, his wife in distress and the times hard. Now, all concerned in this affair are "good Christian people" in the best sense. The concern pity the man, but claim they had to do it as a financial matter, which may or may not be true. The partner who insisted on the change pleads "he had to provide a place for his relative," and the woman, that "she had to support herself." If I am not mistaken, the community will have to provide for the discharged bookkeeper and his family unless times change, for he can never again, at fifty years old, get another such place. Thus it is to be seen that the law of self-preservation smashes "brotherly love" all to pieces. That sentiment is pretty in theory, or good in a death-bed scene, but it is of no use in the actual struggles of life. A universal appreciation of the law of self-protection can alone rectify these evils in time. I look to see an increase of all social evils through the open competition of women,

until they themselves correct the evil (a necessity to be sure), by refusing to add fuel to the social fires in non-production. There are heaps to be learned and practiced before humanity can live with any great degree of peace of mind. The greatest danger to the individual man is his brother and sister wolves in the social jungles. It is no wonder that some are beginning to lose sleep over these questions. Those who hate misery and detest pain and disease as constant menaces to individual safety and comfort have all they can do to overcome the ignorance and heedlessness of the masses. The crime of theology as the chief stimulator of human misery cannot be overestimated. The Church must be overcome before we can reach the masses. But if we can once so educate woman as to make her know she need not torture and imperil herself on earth to save her hypothetical soul in the great Nowhere, and by non-production make a place for her to take care of herself, the problem is largely solved. The task with men is easy in comparison, because they have more appreciation of the law of self-protection.

Bacon's third condition, that "wives are the nurses of the old," is scarcely necessary longer unless some woman see "business" in it, for which she is not to blame. Otherwise servants are cheap enough. Where they cannot be afforded and the Baconian conditions exist, it is simply another form of female slavery.

THE SCIENCE OF PARENTAGE.

To take up the thread where we left it at the end of the last section, we know that the pride of man, the differential point which alone distinguishes him above all other members of the animal kingdom, is his mastery over and subjugation of himself to natural law. We know that the stimulus to this gigantic human evolution has been the necessity to overcome the severities of environment, the law of self-protection. We know, again, that wonderful as has been the task, that the subjection of man to nature, exclusive in himself, has been a comparatively easy work. The great environmental conflict has been, however, between man and man and man and man, or the struggle between individualism and

socialism. The acme of human development is, however, complete mastery over self, and its final completion must end in the cessation of reproduction. It seems almost unaccountable that the intelligence of man should not have perceived long since that the first step to complete success was to have an intimate knowledge of self. No other reason can be found for his not having done so than the effects of the ignorance of past ages, which has given to man the tradition that he was made perfect, and that any future auto-attempts in that direction would be futile.

The most advanced among us are just waking to the fact that such self-knowledge is an absolute necessity to individual survival and social safety. Without really perceiving the importance of their work from the social-moral point of view, scientists have accumulated such a vast amount of active knowledge that it can be said that the road is open, though terribly narrow is the way and strait the path which leads to the complete evolution of man. Men and women of varied education and equally varied manners of thinking are approaching this subject from all sides, and all are equally interested in doing their utmost to improve their own condition. With few exceptions these persons are all representatives of the altruistic or "brotherhood-of-man," "love-one-another" schools of thought, though the strictly scientific, or materialistic school is not without able representatives. The majority of these, however, are objective investigators. But few have been or are thinkers, and have sought to apply the knowledge gained to themselves and society. An introduction to such an endeavor, by clearing the way of traditional superstitions, has been here attempted. Instead of the altruistic, materialism offers the socialistically modified natural individualistic as the only scientific and true method by which socialism can obtain the best and lasting results. That is, the whole must, through the selected intelligence of the broadest character, apply the principles of individualistic self-protection to the whole, not as a matter of sentiment, but of actual necessity. To do this socialism must use every endeavor to educate each individual in the mass in the highest possible degree to a knowledge of self, and that his own self-protection is best forwarded by his applying the knowledge thus gained to

self. The more universal this becomes, the less severe becomes the struggle for existence, and the more secure each one's own position.

Socialism is the intelligence of the whole studying the relations of each individual unit to itself and themselves respectively, so that the whole social machinery shall run as harmoniously as possible. Evolution repeats itself. The ontogeny of the whole repeats the phylogeny of each individual unit. In other words, the endeavor of socialism is to reduce the whole in all its heterogeneous complexity to the simplicity of a homogeneous single-acting mechanism.

Such is the task of socialism!

It has been said that the fruit is already ripe on the branches of the tree of knowledge. Science has collected it, and there it hangs ready to be garnered. The harvest is ready, but the intelligent harvesters are very few. The serious mistake has thus far been made of looking on the decalogue as the foundation of human morals and the clergy as its dispensers. Physicians have scarcely yet appreciated the fact that medicine has even a higher mission than knowing and treating disease, and supporting themselves thereby. "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure" to the patient, though it may not be to the physician. On the other hand, not one profession to-day can boast of such a high degree of intelligent development and true socialistic endeavor as the medical. The very nucleus of prevention is to be sought in a thorough knowledge of self. That means phylogenetic and ontogenetic biology, physiology and sociology. In other words, man, know thy race's history, and then shalt thou know thine own. It is to-day the necessity of self-government, the nucleus of general government. The day when ignorance controls is at its apex and culminating in revolution. The physician must become the moral teacher of the future. Again may history repeat itself, and the priest and physician be represented in one person. We cannot hope for centuries, except in individual cases, that mankind will arrive at that supra-evolved condition as to master self to such a degree as to cease all reproduction and all sexual relations. We have to do with the world as it is, not as we may wish it to be. We can point to the distant peaks of

the land of promise ; we may even see their pure and crystal points, but we cannot attain to them. The way is still too narrow and the path too strait for our present mentality to grasp the helm. But this we can do ! We can begin ! A few noble women are already showing the way. Marriage must continue. Prostitution will also. The only rational way to overcome the latter is to purify the former and bring it to its natural and strictly moral level, and by example and precept surround our best developed young people in such an environment of rigid natural-physiological morality that at first they will not dare, and finally they will not think of any other sexual relation between men and women than for reproduction at the desire of the woman. We must purify our domestic relations in the upper current before we can hope to see any improvement in the depths of the social sewerage. All those really indecent colabitation-surroundings of common rooms and beds, which invariably tend to produce that axiomatic condition, "familiarity breeds contempt," must be abandoned as a social pest-generator. The initial movement rests with woman. She must assert her individualism, and by the might of her femininity demand absolute control over her own body. She must not insult her femininity by permitting intercourse for any other reason than reproduction. The men will come to it. The clergy must stop its blind adherence to absurd tradition and teach the people the principles of the highest morality. Socialism must change the laws, and in the light of the most profound knowledge, so as to support woman in her rights of maternal and feminine chastity. Men must be taught that the Baconian dictum is an insult to true manhood, and seek in wives, if they must have them, that divine light of constantly illuminating intelligence which burneth brighter and brighter until it expires in the perfected day of a well completed life. Women must be taught that the greatest honor of mothers, the immortality of the immortals, can only come to them through that culmination of nature's work, a child better than themselves, as perfect as the intelligent selection of a father can make it. Both man and woman must be taught that their greatest responsibility is the quality of their children. That quantity is a disgrace and a public menace.

That it is a duty they owe themselves, but far more to children, that they shall be fitted to win in the social maelstrom.

EVERY CHILD HAS A RIGHT TO BE WELL BORN.

Children are born not made. That fact cannot be repeated too often. In this day and generation some are born to trade, some to be sharp traders, a very few with gigantic genius in that direction. These can all live in degree. It is but an evolution of the natural self-protective functions. Others are so born that they cannot make a living in trade save as the servants of others. Still others are only useful in an altruistic sense. They are otherwise useless to themselves. It is no wonder that the phenomenal "self-made" men should egotistically assume that they are some extra-natural production, so terribly common is the ordinary human product. Theologians cannot free themselves from the accusations that the malignant effects of their traditional story of "Adam's Fall," and the perfection of man in that one instance, with the insane assertion that since then perfection is impossible, has kept the human race down to its present low moral and physical level. Nothing else has been possible under such system of ignorance. It is no wonder then that phenomenal men in any branch of life should be looked upon more or less as freaks. The most remarkable freak of humanity at present is, however, its willingness to be still led by the nose by the representatives of traditional and superstitious ignorance. That which has no individual existence has no rights. An unborn child virtually does not exist. We know nothing of its presence unless the mother advertises the fact. Rights are concessions wrung by a greater force from a lesser by its greater might. Individually speaking a child has no rights because it cannot maintain itself. The rights of a child are those which socialism in its own interests demands and maintains for it. There is a terrible amount of fetich in the traditional rights of parents regarding children. To come to the point at once let it be said that parents have no rights over the child, and the child every right so far as the parents have any relation to it. If

there is any right it is that of the mother to the child. It is a natural development of the maternal instinct. It is an extension of the law of self-preservation. It is a right of guardianship, not ownership. It is an intelligent looking out for an intelligence not yet developed. It will be remembered that in the period of maternal rights the father counted for nothing. It was socialism which forced on the father the duties of parentage as a safeguard to itself. Socialism made the father an equal guardian with the mother, and eventually insisted that he assume the full protectorate so far as the minor child bore or bears any relation to society. We enforce this principle in the laws against bastardy. In reality we enforce it also in the marriage law, for the undesired child is really more of a "bastard" than the result of youthful and natural indiscretion. Study over that proposition a little, ye social moralists! It is the might of the majority enforcing the principle of natural self-protection against the individualism of man, when he disregards the might of society again in gratifying his sexual instincts contrary to the rules of society. The heading of this section was purposely incorrectly stated. It should be

SOCIALISM DEMANDS THAT EVERY CHILD BE WELL BORN.

It has the right to do this on the same principle it forces the father to assume the protectorate; for its own self-protection. It can enforce it by its greater might as it does the paternal protectorate. Who will deny that it should not? Who will deny that there is not or should not be such a thing as the scientific breeding of the human race? Again, I say, that nothing but the ruinous theological and traditional superstition that God made men perfect, and that as they all fell in Adam's fall, they could only be raised by machine theology, that is, through Christ, has deterred men from applying the principles of intelligent selective breeding to themselves. We hear about people being "well-bred," but that is not in the sense meant. "Well-bred," as used, means being polished up after being born in comparison to the crude material. The idea of the "self-made man" endorses it, for many such are notoriously "ill-bred." Yet, when we come to

the true individualistic test of "bred to win" they are really the well-bred ones, and those of society would often be and are frequently bred to lose were it not for the artificial propping up some well-bred ancestor has given them. Those of us who have taken any interest in the breeding up of animals by artificial selection (that is those attributes which we desire) know how rapidly we are improving and producing an average of winners that is becoming larger and larger almost every year. While the phenomenons are apparently (?) more frequent, the general average of extreme speed is increasing with far greater certainty and frequency. The same thing not only can but must be done in man.

Parents seem to think that they have a right to determine what vocation the child shall follow. The more conscientious they are, the more is the child liable to suffer. To be sure the majority of children have so little individuality that they willingly follow in any rut set for them, and many have ability enough to win worldly success in that rut. It is not for them I am pleading. It is for the child so born that it has a will to run in one direction; to cut out its own ruts. These children generally have a hard time of it until they cut loose from home. It is such that require the greatest judgment on the part of all concerned that they are not ruined. There is more genius under the sod, crushed to death by injudicious parents, than above it.

Our own intelligence and the "love of children" which has become a highly evolved human characteristic among the best developed people, should make us feel the responsibility to do so. Socialism should, by education and environment, gradually make it a matter of pride as it is a necessity. Furthermore, by an ever-augmentating condemnation of every form of "hoggish" individualism which threatens the welfare of society, socialism must make the individuals in society see what kind is best to breed, what kind of characteristics will not only win the best, but at the least cost to the child. "But those cold-blooded ideas remove all the romance from life!" says our young, esthetically developed modern maiden. Romance is a terribly dangerous and misleading fetich, as every one of experience knows. There is no romance in

life when we come to face the "bread-and-butter question." Bellamy, in some ways, suggested many valuable ideas in his "Looking Backward." Although personally I think it is the crime of crimes to introduce a child into this bitter struggle against disease and constantly threatening adversity, and finally death, and that non-production works the apex of human mastery over self, still I know it is a long and narrow road to that point. We have to deal with things as they are, and make of them the best we can. Socialism has now far enough advanced in the highest circles to begin seriously considering a very large return to the pre-historic maternal rights' condition. Let me state it broadly. Our young women should be so educated that the topmost point of womanly honor can be attained in two ways.

1. Absolute self-mastery and individualism with non-production.

2. Maternity, the woman, to take the whole responsibility of child-bearing, and selecting the father of her child, but society, the state, through a board of education and guardianship, to assume the right of directing the education of the child and paying all the expenses of bringing it up and supporting the mother. Women who desire to become mothers should be taught to feel as the Spartan mothers were, that their highest honor should be to be enrolled on the annals of the nation among the mothers that had borne a man. The standard of value is that a man is of corresponding self-protecting use to himself, as he is valuable to others or society.

A man who did not exercise the most absolute mastery over self, and indulged in any sexual indulgence whatever, as such, should have such universal condemnation as would lead to his banishment from good society. For these and many other reasons, I think the ordinance of marriage a humbug and opposed to the best development of the race and a pure moral condition. Socialism can make these conditions practical when its intelligence has sufficiently evolved. The very fact that even now we are producing a great number of self-made men and

women, as well as a gigantic preponderance of ill-bred ones, is shown in the popular misconception among altruistic reformers that "the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer." We must now turn our attention most seriously to leveling up the race by energetic selection of winning qualities and breeding in and in, and by the most rigid endeavors to force out, kindly and justly, the losing, ill-bred element. It is a terrible but sarcastically true statement which such men as ex-Senator Ingalls frequently make,—I mean men who do not look beneath the surface of things,—that "self-made" men seldom produce children of the same degree, and often of no degree, of winning individualism. One of the chief causes of that strange phenomenon is to be sought in the fact that "a woman is a woman," and beyond that fact and a few externals, wife-relation goes no further with the "self-made" than with the un-made. This shows how far the human race fails in any understanding of itself, or its actual responsibilities. They observe the fact, accept it as a foregone necessity, and close the record of their own imbecility with "it is God's will." There it ends! Down with this theological fetich!

Let us destroy fetichism in every form. Down with an institution that looks backward for perfection instead of forward. Down with an institution so false in every precept that every fact of individualism and evolution absolutely contradicts it. If there are any theologians who think that there is any relation between evolution and traditional superstition, there have been stones enough dashed through their closed shutters to awaken them to "Stand up for Jesus," if they have any facts to stand on. A pretty illustration of power is a God who cannot stand up for himself! We forget! God is only "a theory" after all! The only wonder is that there are so many individual well-bred ones among us, considering that scarcely a child in a million is anything but the accidental result of lust. As much so, in actual fact, as if the father and mother were nothing but Hottentots. How many realize that these altruistic, theological equality, and "God's-will" ideas have actually checked favorable action of the natural survival, and flooded us with the army of incompetent, ill-bred parasites that are consuming the social

body. They have no right to live. They are living on the might and sufferance of others. In the sense of intelligent reproduction the human race has not advanced an iota so far as intentional improvement of the child is concerned. On the other hand certain mighty factors have been and are at work, never more so than now, in improving the race. There has been and is, as the race has evolved, more and more attention to the esthetic side of selection. The lowest and lower classes have not advanced any beyond the earliest and most crude conditions. With them a woman is a female, and that is all the males really think about. Beyond that, she is an abject slave, more so than in any savage nation, where, in many cases, maternal rights, or respect for pregnancy, prevails. The higher up we ascend on the evolutionary tree the more attention does man have for the esthetic side in the female.

One more advance in woman remains so far as her wifely fitness is concerned, and that is, instead of her being superficially polished, we want her educated in the broadest and most refined sense, in a knowledge of herself and of man, and social necessities generally. It is a most favorable indication, that educated men in our most "cultivated" society are looking more for intelligent companionship in women and marrying late in life. Unthinking and fetich-worshipping women may assume such a condition dangerous, but educated and reflecting women will see that it is a long step towards the emancipation and individualization of woman. The pathological courtship insanity must be stopped in all decent society. Sensible men will see the necessity of this as well as all true women. It is true that we allow our girls a very large freedom in accepting the attention of gentlemen and in selecting whom they will marry. The trouble is, however, that they are not so educated in the responsibilities of maternity as to even think of selecting wisely. In general, social position largely contests the selection beyond the whims of female idiosyncrasy. Attention is paid to manners, social position, and, under existing conditions, it is wise that more and more attention should be given to a strong financial position for

both. The stronger the better, within the limits of rational wealth. Surplus wealth, which causes a study how to squander, it and incites vicious extravagance, is one of the social shoals. Here the matter ends. The fetichism of society surrounds the whole thing with the false glamour of romance. Let me boldly declare that I have never known a couple, and have never heard of one even, which knew enough to bring up a child with any decided individualism. Thousands of bright and gifted children have been ruined for life by well-intentioned and misdirected parental authority where one has been benefited at all. The only children not injured are those whose individuality is null—pretty moulds—not men and women except sexually. I never yet have had the honor of knowing a single parent, man or woman, who had an iota of appreciation of the real responsibility. Parental responsibility, in my day, tended to make angels rather than fit us for earth. We succeeded in spite of our parents more than by their aid. Marriages must be made on earth before people will be enabled to realize that they are most profoundly material things and far-reaching in their responsibilities. Mothers and fathers must lose sight of that fetich, God, and their responsibilities to it, and realize that all the responsibility they can have is to a possible child, that that child is well-bred enough to be sure to be able to take care of itself. We will assume that every intelligent girl of to-day has common sense enough to realize that it takes money to make "romance in a cottage" even, and insist on the man she marries having money enough to provide for her, or paid-up insurance enough, in case of his sudden death, unless she has it herself. Our wealthy young women should have maternal pride enough to seek out men of such individualism that they would honor and benefit themselves by marrying them. A natural nobleman is much better to "buy" (win) than an ill-bred lord, even if his ancestor was some well-bred highwayman or corsair in the dim past. Win your own titles! There is but one. The world gives it when it says, "He was a grand man," "She was a noble woman." A popular fetich at present is that "money makes the man." It is false. Brains make the money; hence, brains make the man. There are plenty

of people with money to whom the world does not give that one honorable title, "a man." There is only one way that men or women have ever won such distinction. Although the stock-breeder would register such as "breeding unknown" he would equally honestly admit that "they were bred to win." No ill-bred individual ever won. The externals being satisfactory to guarantee support, and the desired companionship the most essential of all questions, to be discussed in the coolest manner as a matter of most practical business, is the physical fitness of each with reference to possible children. First, is each one a model of physical strength and health? Are there no inherent weaknesses? Next, how many generations back can this condition be traced in each family? What heredity weaknesses, if any, are there on each side? Consumption, insanity or syphilis if at all constant and within two generations should absolutely forbid marriage if on both sides. Next comes the self-protective individualism in both families. Weaknesses in that direction should be as seriously considered as physical ones. It is my opinion that the time has come for socialism (the state) to take charge of these questions of fitness and that license to marry should never be given to those physically and mentally unfit to produce strongly individualistic children in the looking-out-for-self sense.

It requires no elucidation to show the criminal neglect of every common-sense principle, of any high morality in our present marriage system so far as the welfare of children is concerned. It does not seem that any more than the few suggestive remarks previously given are necessary at this time, as the point aimed at is simply to cause a mental-moral shock and inspire reflection among intelligent people. We will now bring this work to a close in a few pages on.

AS "GOD ONLY HELPS THOSE WHO HELP THEMSELVES" IT IS THE DUTY OF SOCIALISM TO ITSELF TO TEACH EACH INDIVIDUAL THE PRINCIPLES OF SELF-PROTECTION.

IF socialistic might must assume the right to demand that each child should be well born, it has an equal right to insist that its natural individualism be guided, aided and abetted by the very best and broadest education so adapted to its idiosyncrasies of character as to render it of the greatest possible use to itself, and hence society. The first aim is self-protection. The second is socialistic individualism seeking to protect itself from social evils. The two properly blended make the perfected man or woman. Our grandmothers often quoted to their daughters, "As the tree is bent so it will grow." The saying was well meant, but is only partially true. We can no more bend an ill-bred (in the sense here used) child into a winning and useful man or woman, than we can make a strong, vigorous and prolific tree out of an ill-bred and sickly sapling. The breeding, the ancestry, decides what the plant shall be. The after-teaching or training may injure or strengthen it, but if the right degree and kind of individualism is present, the sapling (human or vegetable) will reach the sun, and, though it may be deformed in the conflict, it will bear fruit according to the strength its fathers gave it. All thinking people know these things. It has been unintelligently assumed that this is a business which God assumes to himself, forgetting how powerless he is, as he "only takes care of those who help themselves." Therefore we must breed and educate our children on the principle that there is no other help than self-help. Our good sense tells us that self-help can be materially strengthened by the artificial aids of an intelligently applied education.

The first principle to be learned as an axiom is this, Children are born, they are "ready made" when they

come into the world. By no power whatever can we make them over afterwards. The weight which ignorance and veneration for tradition has placed on the neck of childhood cannot be over-estimated. The majority of parental and theological influence has been stubbornly directed to try to undo nature's handiwork and make it over again. In one thing self-made people are right. They have generally had to make themselves in spite of the opposition of a well-intentioned living environment. Our phylogensis—ancestors—largely determines what our ontogenesis—individuality—shall be, if parents, teachers, and society at large could only learn that that is axiomatic, it would be better for themselves, the children, and the world in general. Nowhere has intelligent socialism a more difficult and delicate task than to remove the fetich traditions interfering with the free development of child-life. When a breeder of fine horses has bred a colt theoretically, but on experience, to have what he desires, he does not sit down to make it so with a cast-iron breaking machine. He spares the rod, not to spoil the colt. He sits down and studies it to see what it really is as an individual, and, having found that out, he seeks to develop what it is, not what he wants it to be. How different it has been in breeding and rearing children! What a struggle strong-bred children have to make their way! The usual cry is, "What a queer child!" "I don't see where it came from!" "It is not like its father or mother!" The fact is, it is its forgotten ancestors speaking in the child. The general assumption is, that it is Satan (old Adam) manifesting himself. It is the theological Satan of ignorance, sure enough, speaking through the parents. While no one has more respect and admiration for the magnificent and strong individualism of our Puritan ancestors than the writer, no one can have more positive hatred of their ignorant assumption over what may be termed children's rights. Puritanism has constantly endeavored to kill out its most wonderful characteristic in its children. It has treated child-individualism as some terrible pest to be stamped out at any cost. In a measure that has given place to an unintelligent "go-as-you-please" neglect. The value of building up the child's individualism so that it can use it to the best advantage to itself, by education, is not

half appreciated. Puritanism taught that the parents owned the child. If it had not might enough to make it its slave it generally said "Satan owns it," and gave it over to the horrors of theological predestination. The boot is on the other foot. The child should own its parents. It has a mortgage of intelligent responsibility on them. More than the parents society owns the child. It becomes a member of the social organism the moment it is born. At present socialism throws the responsibility, when it can, on the parents. When it cannot it assumes it, as in the case of orphanage or bastardy. It does not assume it wisely. It treats it too much like an orphan or a criminal. It does not treat the child justly. There is too much sentimental mercy in its action. Shakespeare was wrong. It was justice, not mercy, which Portia so thrillingly appealed for. The quality of mercy can be strained very thin. That of justice can never be. It is not qualitative. It is absolute. Think of the infernalism of the puritanical principles, "The child must be subject to the will of its parents?" What does that mean? Kill out its natural individualism! Stifle its character! Puritanism was only fitted to deal with puppets. Its own natural individualism is killing traditional puritanism. The dignity of the child is rising. Intelligent socialism is more and more using its might to defend the individualism of the child against the ignorance of puritanical and other incompetent parentage. Another savage puritanical fetich is "spare the rod and spoil the child." They should have applied self-castigation. Socialism has largely driven it out of itself and abolished corporal punishment in its schools. It needs to enter the family now and abolish it there, even if it has to use the lash of scorn on the parents. The child belongs to the race. That is its heritage. It is the race's duty to protect it and educate it to protect itself.

THE EVIL EFFECTS OF ALTRUISM IN EDUCATION.

Much has been said on this subject in previous pages. Much more might be said. But one side of the question will be touched on here. I wish to show how and where altruism is death to the child and tends to kill out its individuality and render it unfit for the struggle for exist-

ence. I am aware that the majority of good people will not agree with me. Individualism will kill it because it is unnatural. In the place of it we must put that socialistic individualism which studies the wants and miseries of others, and how they may be overcome for its own self-protection. The law of self-protection is the first law of life. It is the law of intelligent might. Christianity has done a great work. It still has work to do. It has prepared the way for an intelligent and just individualism which shall replace mercy with untrammelled justice. Socialism teaches that the best way to protect one's self is to be just to self. Do unto others as you would do unto yourself, is the quintessence of social justice. It is not love another. It is more profound. It is the sublimity of a refined intelligence. What does altruism do? Is it not based on the Christian principle "Love one another"? The absurdity of that idea has been discussed before. We shall now demonstrate it more conclusively. What do we do? How do we instruct children? Do we not bring them up in an illusion of false and sentimental hopes? We surround them with all the care and sweetness of a true home-life. Their lives are as free from care, in well-off society, as that of the lambs frolicking among the stones of our New-England hill-tops. We overcome them with kindness (where puritanism is dead). We tell them to love one another. The instincts of maternity have become family-communistic idealisms. We send them to the Sunday-school. There the sweet aroma of ideal Christianity follows them. It is love one another. Notwithstanding that little outbursts of childish individualism momentarily mar the picture, their lives are happy, such a childhood is the sunshine of life. It is care-less; that is, free from the responsibilities of living. It knows not death. Disease is but an unintelligent shock. The child scarcely appreciate its terrors before it fades before the grim monster. The place that it loved shall know it no more. To change the metaphor, it is "twinkle, twinkle, happy child, be thankful that thou knowest not what you are." Up to maturity this is its life. We tell it it is its highest duty to love one another. Parents and friends make it think that life is indeed sweet sunshine. Life is to it like the unblossoming of sweet flower. But, a change comes. The necessity of self-protection is forced on it. (The exceptional cases

are still too rare to merit earnest consideration.) It must face the stern realities of life. It must enter into the jungles of human competition. Here the curtain falls on the sweet and thoughtlessly innocent past, though its traditional influences cling to it, being woven deeply into the child's tissues by its parents' love and mistaken kindness. From the way our parents bring us up one would think this world some heavenly pasture, and we children playful sheep put here by some "good shepherd." In justice to children we must stop this altruistic teaching. We must teach them the world as it is, not as we wish it was. That it is a den of vicious competition where the wolves survive and the sheep perish. That the "home-world" we have made for them is but a deceptive Elysium in comparison with the real article. That men "have no souls" in the daily struggle for supremacy. That none are to be trusted only so far as experience shows they can be. That past experience is no criterion to guide the future honor of an individual boy. We must teach children how they can live. It matters less how they die. We can be no more honorable than the world will let us, save at cost to ourselves. The child soon finds that it is not all "love one another." That the social jungle is full of tigers. That if it really applies the golden rule in the sense that it has learned it, that the tigers strangle it. It finds itself trampled to death. The coin of character is not all sterling gold unfortunately. It has to make itself over again. In other words, the real self comes uppermost. If that self is natural individualistic it succeeds corresponding to its might.

HOW SUCCESS IS ATTAINED.

The question is "What do we mean by success?" Under general conditions there can be but one form of success in life, and that is, that degree of self-protection which leads to self-support through life. It is not necessary to consider those who have had this supplied to them by an extra degree of self-protective individualism in their ancestors, which has enabled them to provide for their immediate posterity as well as themselves. To my mind this is the most serious question with which socialism has to do. It is all the more serious because, as I

have endeavored to show, mistaken socialistic movements have led to the production of individual conditions not at all conformable to the development of this most essential factor to the well-being of society. Readers may think that I am too much of a fanatic in my opposition to theology; but if they will consider this question as they would any business matter they will see it has approached a condition of "life or death" to thousands of children already born and many thousands more certain to be. Any one who will be honest to himself must admit that the hereditary influences under which we are born, both ancestral and present during our whole childhood, do not tend, as I have tried to emphasize, to prepare us to combat with the world as it is. The whole influence of theological altruism and Christianity is to make "saints" out of us, not for the conditions of this world, but "a theory." It would be all right and beautiful could we all be born saints, could an absolute communism of equality exist, but we know not only that it does not, but that it is impossible. We know that the real "benefactors" of the world have only received their "thanks" after passing from it. I mean the promulgators of great principles which have been universally applicable. It is a sad and instructive phenomenon that the one man who, beyond all others, gave his life for the betterment of man on earth, and the principles of justice among men living, should have received the least acknowledgment from those who have been benefited thereby—Thomas Paine. The reason for this is very singular. It is because it has been assumed that Paine's anti-theological writings seriously interfered with man's prospects for happiness when dead. No one can deny that and tell the truth. Now the point is this, and it is a most important one to be learned. Thomas Paine was born to serve the human race as he did, and it so happened that he was also born at the right time to enable him to follow his natural inclinations, much as he personally suffered in doing so. Though I doubt not that Paine suffered intolerable agonies from the lack of appreciation which he received, yet he would not have drawn what happiness there was for him in living in any other direction to any such degree. Paine lived as he did because he could not help it and the times were propitious. What we know

as the potentiation of characteristical present somewhere in his ancestry made Paine what he was. It is the same of Washington, Jefferson, Beecher, Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, Garrison, Bismarck, Luther, Napoleon. Men of those various stamps are born as they are. They succeed if times are propitious, and in degree as they are capable of mastering the elements as presented to them. Their true position is established later. Sooner or later the intelligence of man appreciates that which has been beneficial to him in accordance with his intelligence. With the advance of knowledge we are getting more and more material in our views. We know perfectly well that the world has a vast appreciation for men whose only mission has been to act as viceroys of heaven and to prepare men to die. The time has come when our whole work must be to make men to live. Virtually, we can "let the dead bury the dead." If people will only stop to think they must see how strong a plea I am making for the living or those likely to be born. I say, that, for at least 2,000 years, the world has gone on in its ignorance, raising and educating more and more children, so that they are born unfit to combat with this world as it is. I do not mean the physically and mentally unfit. I am speaking for the very best the human race produces in the ideal sense. I mean those born with so-called "gifts," which, could they be developed and opportunity given to use them, would be of untold value to mankind. I say, that, of this class, in general, only those born superstitious, only those born to pave the way into the unknown, find a living among us that can be claimed to be such. I say, that these are the very poorest of all altruistic tendencies. It is well that the world is tending against this class. As to the others, we bring them up so as to unfit them to live; we do our utmost to kill out all the self-protection in them. They are cursed by their ancestry and we clinch the curse. We do not tell them that "God only takes care of those who help themselves," until we become melancholily aware of the fact that they have not been born "to help themselves." We see they are gifted; they stand well in school; they are bright; all persons say, "What wonderful abilities, he is a genius," but who stops to think that the world, the rest

of us, is not ready to appreciate those abilities. Yet we have told such a youth that the noblest thing a man can do is to live for others. We are so inconsistent that we find tremendous fault with him because natural self-protectiveness has been so bred and educated out of him that he really must make what living he can by working in some way for others which does not pay. We find fault with men like Jay Gould, yet where is the man who would not like to be able to do as he did? What does the world want of the living? One thing—self-support on the part of each individual! That is the essential. What shall we do then with those born to be scientists, real statesmen, philanthropists, and other “fool things” for which we have not general (socialistic) appreciation enough at present that they can make themselves sufficiently useful to be able to be self-supporting? All true men and women must admit that the more of a “crank” such an one is to serve the people the less they want his services. Come, ye practical Americans, look at yourselves! You profess a tremendous admiration for Louis Pasteur, for the great work of a Koch or of a Virchow, or such men! You are brimming over with that theological altruism which displays itself in preparing to go to heaven or to keep your memory green in your place of nativity by some endowment. Do you suppose Pasteur or Koch could find support in this country? No! You are not ready! You do not know enough to realize the value of the self-protection of lives, not your own, or the dangers of disease until the physician becomes the advance agent of the priest. You cannot deny it! There is not one dollar being spent by the people of the United States for the prevention of disease by means of the investigations of men of the highest stamp, and no such man can find employment in this country. A few misnamed scientific hypocrites are employed in some endowed places, because they have a pull, but what have they done? Take all the sciences on which the development of the natural resources of a country and their proper protection depend, do we, as a people, supply any place for men or women so born as to be of inestimable service to us and all mankind? We do not. Our natural existence does not depend on the work of such men, and therefore we have no place for them, because we have no

national rivals on our boundaries. But do we not need their work as much as if such was our unfortunate condition? I said "unfortunate." It is a question which way one shall look at that matter. The world is reaping the benefits of the conditions in Europe. But what shall we do with these altruistically-born children? There is but one thing! Stop this altruistic, Christian, after-death, brotherhood-of-man humbug. Down with that monstrous fetich! Apply the true worldly principle, He succeeds who takes care of himself; God does nothing and will do nothing. We must do our utmost to weed out the evil effects of hereditary altruism. From the earliest childhood, in family and in school, we must bring out every bit of self-protectiveness in children and study hard to find out in which one direction the most of it is to be found. We find some with such an exorbitant degree of this natural individualism, like Jay Gould, that we can see no evidence of any altruistic ancestry, and all the powers of theology cannot inspire any on earth. We see others with a sufficient amount united with that degree of altruistic theological superstition which forces them to give in charity, and we call them our "model rich men." We do not know what a struggle goes on in those men between their natural self-protectiveness and their superstitious ignorance and desire to "be seen of men" as well. So the forces of the past and present conflict. But we make them worse for the noblest of our children.

We are false to our duties if we do not drop this altruistic nonsense and first teach the hard necessity of individual self-protection, and then the self-duty of looking out for others not possessing it, as intelligently as we can for the same purpose. Again I say, we must breed and bring children to live and not to die.

Now a word as to how a living is to be made.

Before stating how, as a general principle, it may be said that an individual succeeds in direct proportion to his making himself of material service to his race:

1. By the strongest individualism which equally makes free use of all the nature (including human) which it can possibly absorb. This varies in degree, but it is the method of exorbitant self-protection which produces the millionaire. (This requires modifying by breed-

ing and education, that its natural display may not bring danger to itself.)

2. In the above is included a second method of making a living, in that such strong men require the services of others in varying degree and remunerate them accordingly, and to the fullness of the human market in the kind they want.

3. Others make a living, and aside from the mere wage-earner this is the majority, by endeavoring to supply the needs of humanity. This includes the mercantile classes. In this class is included also the inventors who sometimes make great fortunes. Success here varies with the amount of need one is enabled to equalize or his general usefulness.

4. The professional classes. These, as the others, all live on the needs of the race, as the race values them. The clergy have had enough attention: they would be useless were men not ignorant and correspondingly superstitious. They are inquisitorial terrors to keep the ignorant in safe condition on earth by threatened torments or displeasure in the Unknown and by the Unknown. We need not speak of the physicians, the lawyers, the nurses and the instructing class, except that the last is the most important of all, and the poorest and most practically ignorant of all, except the clergy, and are so poorly paid that first-class talent is entirely discouraged from making any efforts in that direction.

5. The swindlers. Politicians and dead-beats who make a living by deceiving the people and sucking their life-blood.

THE LAW OF USE.

Every man succeeds in this world according to its appreciation of his value. Not his real value, but as the world values him.

How many people realize that there is really a cold, dry, hard law of use which guides and controls all their sentiments, no matter how æsthetic they may be. This law of use is one of the most interesting in the whole study of human evolution. The same law is applicable to individualism and socialism alike. The law of use is capable of quite subtle differentiations of both a qualitative and quantitative nature. It may be simple or superlative in degree. It may be useful, more useful or most

useful. It may be lovely, lovelier or loveliest; or loved, more loved or most loved. All these terms but express the usefulness of the object spoken of to the object speaking. There is a class of semi-fetich-worshipping writers who would not for the world tell the whole truth, so they call themselves "realists." If a realist is not a materialist he is a nondescript. There is nothing real but material and its actions. The law of use is the fundamental factor by which that adaptation to environment is effected which leads to survival. Those best adapted to use the environment survive, therefore it is a primary law on which the law of survival is founded. So far as survival is concerned the law of use is one of the most far-reaching of all the laws of evolution. The law of use is intimately connected with another, the law of self-protection. Both are founded on what we term natural instincts. Natural instincts may be termed natural hunger due to the specific physiological irritability of tissues according to differentiated use. Let us see how closely this law of use is intertwined with evolution. The more homogeneous the structure, the simpler the functions, the smaller the number of things which are useful to the organism; the more heterogeneous the structure and complex the functions, the greater is the variety of environmental factors necessary to keep the organism running. Let us put it in a less philosophical manner! The simpler the organism the simpler its wants; the more complex the organism the more manifold its wants. The barbarian in the tropics under natural conditions and in a peaceful environment finds use for but little; the modern woman of society wants the whole earth and a comet thrown in were it possible. The law of use is the material foundation of likes and dislikes.

THE LAW OF USE AND INDIVIDUALISM.

To look at this question honestly, to be able to appreciate the truth, we must strip our mind of everything of a sentimental nature. We must look on things as they are, not as we think they are or wish they were. We must not assume that we like things or persons, whom, were we honest to ourselves, we know we do not, merely because it is considered "wrong" not to like it

or them. We can retain a certain degree of liking for things or persons for past usefulness—even when they are of no use to us at present. A deal of self-control is often necessary not to make unnecessary enemies in persons whom we can never tell the moment they may be useful to our self-protectiveness in one way or another. Only the extra strong, the king, can walk this earth with apparent disdain. Even he has to use caution. The social Canute says—"Thus far, O king, no farther." The law of use necessitates that we like that which benefits us, and according to the degree and nature of the benefit. To be sure some people learn to like many things which do not benefit from abnormal attributes due to the influence of our environment, like tobacco and alcohol. But it is in regard to other people that I desire to discuss this question, and will open it with the positive assertion: that no man or woman likes or loves another for that other person's sake, but for his or her own. As generally understood, love is fetich. The like or love is imagined in the wrong object. Probably every one who reads the above is ready at once to "stand up for Jesus." God, their wives and children, or any other fetich of like nature. A woman says, "Don't I love my husband?" A mother says, "Don't I love my children?" The Madonna says, "Don't I love my Christ?" and the priest, "Don't I love God?" To them all in the sense of sincere physiological-psychology, I say, they one and all have deceived themselves. They all love themselves, and because the objects named are of such profound use as to stimulate the highest self-love we imagine we love them. Stop and think a little!

We hear people speak of this and that person as "my friend," when such an one is no more than a casual acquaintance. The writer has had a very varied and not over agreeable acquaintance with this world as the reader may probably conclude. He is not a misanthrope, however. He believes in seeing things as they are. He does not find them as he has been taught. He was born an altruist of the most pronounced type. The world has taught him that he was "born out of time." He has learned to control himself, to a degree. He has ceased with altruistic benevolence. He has come to believe in ideas, which others can use to their own benefit, as of more saving value than acts. He knows the futility of try-

ing to save the world. He would teach the coming world to save itself. He has learned who is his friend, whom he can trust. He has never found an unfortunate man whom he has tried to treat as a brother who has not turned out an ingrate. To the credit of woman he has found some high truth in that sex. Never in man when the obligation has been to him. He can tell you whom to trust, who is your friend. That person who finds the greatest pleasure in life in your company, who lives to do for you because it pleases him, who derives fully as much benefit from you as you can in him. That is your friend. Value him or her. Such an one will never turn false. But beware of wolves in sheep's clothing, of hypocritical thankfulness. Beware of those who profusely say, "God bless you." The man who tells you that "he can never forget your kindness" is on the road to forgetfulness already. He has probably reached the goal. We do not "do good" to benefit others, but really because we are so born that we cannot help it, and it gives us pleasure. Remove yourself from the effects of altruistic tradition. Study yourself. You will see that this is true. He or she who "drives dull care away," and calls forth the best there is in us, is the most self-protective friend one has. Such an acquaintance cannot be measured by "How much is he worth?" Those whom one helps are seldom useful longer. They have done with you. They make use of your natural altruistic "goodness" but to strangle you in the end. All use should be mutual. Never use a true friend unless willing to return tenfold interest at any and all times. The most useful friend is not he who generally gives material help, but the one who enters into your life, thinks with you, shares your best nature and stimulates it and brings out such. Again, the results of exaggerated intellectual evolution is, that some persons are often many-sided. They are full of moods and tenses. They have varied abilities. The world calls them "queer," sometimes "cranks." Such people have great difficulty in finding others equal to filling these moods. They need a different friend according to the "spirit of their dreams." The world misunderstandingly calls them "fickle." They are not. They are true as steel. The steel is not all of one temper, however. Such people

should never marry. They are generally the result of extreme, inbred altruism. They love some form of science more than aught else. They are the world's unfortunates. They enjoy much; they suffer more than ordinary mortals. They find relief only in a diversity of intellectual stimulants. They are the real movers of the world.

THE LAW OF USE AND SOCIALISM.

It is comparatively easy to comprehend the relations of the law of use to individualism, because it may be said to be simply following out the go or do-as-you-please idea. It is the intelligent application of the law of self-protection becoming more and more complicated with the evolution of the social machinery. It is not so very difficult for an ordinarily intelligent person to decide what is or may be useful to him so long as he keeps out of the speculative field, and even then he knows which way things must turn to be of use. The individualistic law of use is dependent on the evolution of the so-called natural instincts, and their demands in the most advanced state of development. In a certain sense, but not the same, the law of use is related to socialism. The differentiating characteristic is this: in socialism the application of the law begins at the point it terminates in individualism. In the most ordinary daily and self-protective sense the individual knows what is necessary and of use to him. This is not so of society. It is harder for a man and wife to decide what will be mutually beneficial than for each one to decide individually. It is more difficult to decide in the same way for a family, and in corresponding degrees the difficulty increases in tribes, village, town, city, state or national matters. The more complicated the machinery, the more difficult it is to decide the relations of use to it. No one will deny to-day that there is such a thing as a community, whether it be that of a town, a state, a nation or the whole human race. No one will deny, even to the world, that there are certain questions of such a general nature that no one man, no one collection of individuals, and, finally, no one nation can decide them. They become questions for the whole, be that whole small, or be it the whole human

race. With the extension of commerce in all its forms, the questions for the whole are becoming more frequent and more all-embracing. The science of studying these questions is socialism. It must study them in another varied phenomenon. In the family, in the village, in the town, the state, the nation and the world. It cannot study them in Boston or Massachusetts, in Chicago or New York, in the United States or Germany alone; it cannot study them in Asia 2,000 years ago, nor in Europe in the middle ages, nor in the whole world of to-day. It must study them in time as a whole, and over the world as a whole. Its mission is to apply the knowledge thus gained, not only to the whole where the work is to be done, but to each individual in the whole. It is thus to be seen that there are certain general matters which are of use to everybody. The difficulty in the way of socialism is to make everybody appreciate it. "That which is everybody's business is nobody's," is an old expression of a fact, but absolutely false in principle. It was "coined" in the days of a still more unintelligent individualism than our own. True "paternalism" is true socialism, every editorial and political stump write or speaker to the contrary. The people must be taught the use of the general law, that there are things so intimately entwined with every one's life, that it is not only a self-protective duty to understand them, but all must understand them. Unless that is so, there is no possible way of an intelligent selection of those who are best fitted to attend to this duty. This is the work of socialism. It is the work of the intelligent. It is their duty to themselves to educate the unintelligent all possible for self-protection. All questions of public health are of this nature; of statesmanship, of education, of general traffic. They cannot be avoided. Only in America and Britain do we see them neglected on account of the absurd prejudice against the whole making the part do its duty to itself. It takes special intelligence to weigh everything and comprehend the usefulness of a given thing to the whole and the best way of applying it. Only in the United States do we think that the ignorant, half-bred and undrilled are equal to the greatest demand the human race can make on its best developed. That is government!

All else is quackery. This country has to be turned inside out, and outside in, and then sifted for a century or so by dangerous social disorders before the people will learn that there is such a thing as "the people," and such matters as general questions, and that every idiot in the country cannot be declared a sane and intelligent man equal to the greatest demands of the people, or made so by law. When this lesson is learned there will be a government of the United States worthy of respect. As it is now it is a disgrace to human intelligence. It is a fraud, a farce and a menace to the public welfare.

It is a delicate matter to decide what the people shall do for themselves and allow individuals to do for themselves; but it can be said that with the evolution of society the people will insist on doing more and more as a whole, because of the disturbing nature of natural individualism. It is said "that this cannot be done because it costs more." Of course it does when socialism refuses to learn of individualism, and instead of placing intelligence in command of the public work puts mediocrity, political trickery and dead-beats. Government should be a business. Now it is "taking care of your friends and relatives." If any business can succeed on that basis no one has found it. Even fathers often find it necessary to advance strangers in their business over their own children and give them an interest, because they are surest to protect and provide for their children that way. Our rotten politics make public business expensive. Politics are rotten because the people are morally so. Where not rotten they are indifferent. Business principles must rule in government as elsewhere or we go to smash. We are in a cataclysm now.

"HONOR THY FATHER AND THY MOTHER."

The sentiment expressed in the above words is generally accepted to be axiomatic. As in every other sentiment, however, it often has much and is many times wholly fetich. My attention was particularly drawn to this question by the following passage in the plea of the prosecuting attorney in the celebrated "Borden murder case";

"And she (Miss Borden) repudiated the title that that woman should have had from her. Did you ever hear of such a case as that? I have once. I once knew of some young men who had acquired that contempt for a dissolute and drunken father that they denied him the title of his paternity. I know how utterly vile and worthless his life was. I shared in their contempt for him. But it struck me as the most unnatural thing I ever knew a young man to do.

"My distinguished friend says this defendant had grown to be a woman; that is true: but that mother of hers had grown to be an aged woman, and she was as much a mother to her then as she ever was. The assassin's blade cuts deep."

I have no desire to consider the family relations of the maliciously and ignorantly accused woman, whom I thought innocent from the beginning, as every person with a "level head" probably did, but I do wish to say, that that passage was maliciously prejudicial and could only have been uttered to create prejudice. That it had no effect on the jury shows their good strong "common-sense." Why should not a person of age repudiate calling a step-parent by the sacred name of father or mother? Where is the criminality or suspicion of the sense in any act like that? What a tremendous number of suspicious people there are in the world!

One would think, from the above passage, that children should never possess any rights, or have any demands on parents whatever. Any person who asserts that children should respect an "utterly vile and worthless parent" is so lost in common-sense as to be unworthy of public confidence. He is either a fool or a villain, no matter who or what he is. There is another expression which is absolutely axiomatic and which qualifies the ordinary one of "honor thy parents." It is "honor to whom honor is due." That is, honor those whose actions command respect. Let me say right here, that the unintelligent manner we are introduced into this world is not such as to command the highest degree of honor or respect from those of us who have brains enough to do a little logical thinking and education enough to appreciate the full responsibilities of what life and living are. In another place I have considered this question of children's rights in detail, but this quotation introduces the subject in connection with the "law of use." How?

That parents should only command the honor and

respect of children in so far as they have been or are useful to them and no farther.

As far as being the authors of our existence we owe them less than nothing. The debt is entirely on the other side. It never ceases, so long as one or the other parent lives. The obligation on the parents' side is duty. That on the child's is gratitude in accordance with the parents' care of the child. We should "honor" our parents the most of any one, because we should owe them more. They should have been more useful to us than any one else, and yet the Gospel Jesus is reported to have denied his own mother when some "one said unto him, Thy mother stands without desiring to speak with thee," for did he not say, "Who is my mother"? Turning to his disciples did he not say, "Behold my mother and my brethren"? Suppose a child is unfortunate enough to grow up with congenital syphilis, though a poor miserable wreck at the same time, shall it "honor its parents"? Suppose a parent is deformed and weak, and yet, because the law allows it, and the clergy sanctions it, and some woman or man is fool enough to marry it, and the child is cursed by the same misfortunes, must it honor a parent who is far more a criminal than the vilest murderer? Come now! it is about time that we exercised a little more common-sense and discarded a whole mountain of nonsensical sentiment regarding parental and many other social relations. As things now are, the parents who are really worthy of honor are somewhat rare. Parentage as it is is most frequently the quintessence of selfishness. No parent who introduces a child into the world less able to combat with it both physically and mentally than him or herself is worthy anything but the contempt of thinking children.

Parental responsibility never ends except with death. Children's responsibility is that of creditor only, and corresponding in degree. Either both or a single parent may so act as to completely nullify it. Children have a million-fold more right to disown a disgraceful parent than a parent has to disclaim a child. That right cannot exist! Parents make the child, not the child the parents. Parental abuse has been tenfold greater than the ingratitude of children. Parents have been so miseducated

as to assume they own their children, and here in New England, and most everywhere in fact, the "authority" never ceases until the grave ends it. In my acquaintance there was once an exceedingly bright boy with one of the most easily controllable dispositions I ever knew. He had "no outs" except a superabundance of animal spirits owing to a wonderful constitution. This boy's parents were of the abnormally conscientious kind. Their ignorance led them to think that they owed more "to God who gave them the child" than they did the boy. This boy was one of those rare geniuses which require study to see what kind of a wondrous intellectual flower is going to unfold. The mother never thought of that. She had her mental eyes blinded by her theological responsibilities. She made up her mind what that child should be when it was born, and just how it was to be done. She did not try to cut the child-clothes according to the intellectual cloth at her command. She made an ideal semi-theological, semi-paternal boot, and then unsuccessfully tried to force her child into it. The boot never fitted. It could not even be forced on. It should be! There was no question about that! The model was one of those "goody goodies," comfortable to parents and old maiden aunts, but of no value to the child. This boy could not be pressed into the model. Puritanism of 1630 and evolutionism of the nineteenth century did not fit. There was a natural revolution of the cataclysmatic order. The mother believed her God told her "that that was her child to do with as she ignorantly imagined he commanded, and that she was absolutely responsible for it." She almost believed the child was a miraculous conception of the Holy Ghost, so strong did she feel her responsibilities. She never realized the child's earthly father, and her and his ancestors might have had more to say about the child's future than his ghostly parent. It must be broken to her will. To the child she thought herself a vicarious God. The means were, "Spare the rod and spoil the child." That boy, before nine years old, was whipped with a cow-hide on his bare back until black and blue, and the blood often ran from the wounds, and then rewhipped the next day and succeeding days to call to mind the first whipping, and frequently confined in an attic room for a week at a

time, and given one slice of bread and a glass of water a day—for what? To break his will! To kill his spirit! The father was a kindly weak man, but turned into a brute by the mother's will. Come, now, reader, be honest, were that your mother could you honor her intelligence? Would it not be more just and kindlier to pity and have contempt for her ignorance? Or, shall we be just and condemn the infernal theology which made a maniac out of an otherwise noble woman? That is what the "fear of God" can do with a woman whose intelligence in every other direction was of a most remarkable kind. That mother died full of anxiety and of prayer for the "waywardness" of the son her very acts had nearly ruined, and whose home her "kindness" had made a "hell" on earth. She died in time to allow the natural goodness of the child to rebound and save himself. Was that child "self-made" or not? Again, I have known most brilliant men ruined by their "fetich" devotion to a mother who did not deem it respectable for them to take up some line of life for which nature had especially gifted them. Their lives were miserable and discontented. The world commands them "to honor" the very agency which ruined them. Are such parents useful or not? Parents on parents have so enforced the "hellish" command that "children must be obedient to the wills of their parents," and selected their manner of life, and thereby ruined them or made them discontented, that I often wonder some one has not spoken more forcibly than I have for the rights of the child. The "self-made" parent from the country generally forgets how he "cut adrift from the old folks" when he has become rich and has children of his own. It is time that we beheaded these parental tzars, and that justice ruled in homes tyrannized over by parental despots. I am well aware that the spirit of 1620 is dying out. It is time it was dead and buried. Parents should not go to the other extreme and ruin children by "love's" indulgence. Intelligent and well-regulated justice is the acme of life everywhere. Whether father or mother, the surviving parent's responsibility is to the child or children, and no step-parent should be permitted, by law, to interfere. Children should have the full right of inheritance to the parents' property, and no parent should have a right to

give or bequeath a step-parent more than a living in correspondence to the means at command. As previously intimated, society owes it to itself to make an iron-clad law, that under no circumstances and for no reason can a parent disinherit a child, though in case of a child's irresponsibility, or bad habits, a parent should be allowed to place such a child's inheritance, which should be equal in all cases with others, in trust. If a mother dies the law should see that her property, if she has any, be at once invested for the children at maturity. The father has no rights in it except as trustee for the children, and if able should not be allowed to use the children's incomes for their bringing up. No man should be allowed to marry a second time, unless he could and had provided for the children of the first marriage to their majority to the satisfaction of society. An intelligent and mature housekeeper is far more preferable in the interest of children than a stepmother, and much less liable to make trouble. Mothers in good society can generally be trusted to look out for their own children, but in case of the death of the father every cent he leaves should eventually become the children's, though the mother should have what is necessary to her comfort. No second husband, or a second husband's children, should have the benefit of the property of the children's own father, and the same is true of the children of a dead mother.

Children's rights and women's rights are among the most important advances needed at present. The law should read :

Parents must be so educated as to know that instead of bending children to their wills, they must intelligently subject their own wills to their children's, and teach the children how to direct and control their wills to their own best advantage.

"THE SOCIAL QUAGMIRE AND THE ONLY WAY OUT."

The world is full of social physicians. The majority of them are quack doctors. The writer will surely be added to the list by the majority. They all are trying to stop up the social sewer instead of clearing it of its rubbish. They are physicians, not surgeons. They would

mend the social organism with adhesive plasters. The kind they recommend are so porous that most of the bad humors ooze through and collect on the other side. Like most physicians they would heal the disease before they have correctly diagnosed it. The disease is ignorance. The cure is education freed from traditional fetichism. In this book I have endeavored to lay the body open and expose the social cancers. Education can alone remove them. Some of these quack doctors—well-intentioned ones, to be sure—would cover the country with the porous plaster of land-nationalization manufactured by Henry George, Alfred Russel Wallace & Co. Without stint they would make the Americanism practical that “Uncle Sam has land enough to give every man a farm,” forgetting that all beneficiaries are not built or bred alike, and that there are thousands on thousands who would refuse the farm, having the new American disease of preferring to try and live by their wits, while there are other thousands who have not even wit enough to hold the farm when given them. The physicians of the altruistic school seek to cure the social distempers by homœopathic dilutions of brotherly love. This becomes necessary because there is not enough of it to disinfect the entire pathological organism, and again the germicide is not applicable to all forms of social disease, such as inherent bad breeding, which produces insanity, crime, and a total inability to do anything for one’s self. The theological doctors vary so much in their specific prescriptions that one scarcely knows what they are aiming at. But one thing is sure: they would, most all, save man dead instead of cure man living. They are not only useless, but injurious. They are false prophets. They discourage where they should encourage individualism. They bear a strong resemblance to the medical profession; they are not all sincere. Hosts of them are only in it “for what there is in it.” Then we have the labor reformer, who sees the cure only in obstruction, and the capitalist who is constructive enough for himself but equally destructive in his relation to all others except the clergy. Next come the farmers, whose eyes are so blinded by the silver mote that they will not see that the world insists that the financial beam shall be balanced by gold. Again, we have the prohibi-

tionists, who, if they would only add tobacco to their embargo, are absolutely right in their endeavors to prevent the action of that individualism which is killing itself and ruining the social body at the same time. All they need do is to persist in season and out in their campaign of education, and they will be sure to find the might of an intelligent self-protective socialism at their backs to eventually sweep the evil away. The mass of the people must become prohibitionists before the balance can be made legally such. As usual, the mass of the Church is still opposed to prohibition for no other reason than that the body of Jesus is asserted by them to have been made into leaven and then preserved in communion alcohol. The thinking women of the world are out with the emancipation cure in more or less radical forms, all of which must bring forth fruit "meet for repentance." Then we have anarchists, mistaken socialists and communists of various types, each with some self-vaunted remedy, none of which, however, touch the root of the evil, which can be summed up in that fatally comprehensive word—ignorance. Ignorance in one form or another is the cause of every barrier in the way of the march of progress. While crude individualism has raised many artificial and supported and strengthened the so-called natural barriers, still it is the ignorance of an unawakened socialism which allows them to remain. Every phase of crude individualism must be transformed to socialistic by education before there can be "peace on earth and good-will among men" and nations. The task is not so herculean as it appears. The history of the past guarantees success in the future. Only the educated evolutionists can comprehend the strength of the prophecy. The nature of the barriers is all fetich. The slogan of an intelligent socialism must be

NO GOD, NO COUNTRY, ONE HUMANITY.

Education must be scientific, not traditional. There is no such thing as traditional truth. A truth discovered thousands of years ago is as vital to-day as then. Truth does not age. Nature may hold it bottled up, the clergy may have bottled it, but it is the same truth. Investigating man will burst the bottles. The child, by the

laws of heredity, belongs to the race. The parents have no rights over it. Socialism has the natural guardianship; the race is the great father. The Church has robbed it of its rights and placed them in the hands of an imaginary fetic. Day by day man is exposing the fallacy of the fetic. The Church must be made to keep "hands off." Parents must be regulated and educated to know where and how to put the hands on. Government is of and from man. It is not of God. From a myth nothing can come. Parents are but the legalized agents of the people. They are minor or deputed rulers. While people speak so freely of the obligations of children to parents, it seems strange to me that they have failed to realize that it has been the whole human past and their own and parents' hereditary environment which makes parents what they are. The responsibility of the young is to themselves. It is well to think a little more profoundly and broader than we are educated to. All government has been, is, and must be with and by the consent of the people. It may not be a cheerful consent, but it is their consent, however. William of Germany is emperor by the consent of the people, and not by the will of God. Were it not for the intense individualistic struggle between the nations of Europe the German emperor might suddenly find that the people no longer consented to be governed by "God's anointed." The President of the United States is no more so, by the consent of the people, than Emperor William. He is so in a more direct manner, that is all. The emperor is such by the reverential consent of the people of to-day to the traditional consent of their fathers. Traditions are dangerous platforms to build governments on. The people of this country subject themselves to the tyrants of machine politics out of reverence for the traditional consent of their ancestors. It is a tradition that this country was founded on the idea that every citizen, except the women, had intelligence enough to be a government of and for and by himself. Present conditions are upsetting the tradition. The people are learning, very slowly, that all men are not equal to existing emergencies. The political machines are rocking and creaking under the discords of rival factions. The people are looking in all directions but the

right one for the remedy. The country is full of political quack doctors who are crying against a centralization which is all the time going on in spite of them. The people are learning that this is a nation; they are learning that there are other nations; that no nation is so large that it can now claim individualistic independence.

Commerce has been and is the great educator. Individual necessity is the great eye-opener. Education is the means by which to open the gates wider and wider to the sun of the perfected day. Ignorance alone stands in the way. It encourages parental rights over children because it fears the might of a freely developed intelligence. Socialism is the only opponent of the Church with might enough to wrest her usurpation from her. The education of the country should be entirely controlled by the people as a whole. It should be millions for education and not a cent for the support of traditional ignorance. Socialism should have intelligence enough to place the work of education in the born and drilled educational intelligence of the land. Education should be strictly religious in that it should teach the children to respect and seek the cause of things. No limits should be placed on the questionings of intelligence. Tradition should be barred out of all public education. Theology in every form should be barred out of all public schools. No endowed schools should have any claim to children until the State has fitted them for its own work by teaching them so as to be able to be self-protective. Teachers should know that children are born, not made. They should study what they are fitted for. Our public schools are not equal to our public emergencies. The teachers are parrots repeating traditions. On the principle that "like begets like" the only students who make any mark in the world are the ones who break the wires of the traditional cages and make themselves. Public education is not necessary to teach children to make money or take care of it. Those born to will succeed without it. It is rather to make them use it wisely.

Every self-made person knows that he has had to unlearn fully as much as he ever learned in school. Education is too much regulated by traditional methods and not enough according to exact facts. All education must

be evolutionary to be valuable. The truth is too much of an unholy thing, dangerous to be touched. Trotters still come in all sorts of forms, but they trot. Children are born under varying conditions, but they can all think. The work of education is to make them think all they can and to give them the tools. Some are born to think one way, some another. The majority will think with their fathers. Some few think for themselves. It is this few which socialism needs for its own service. Those who think traditionally may be taken by the parochial or other endowed schools after the State has done what it can for them. The Church is a coward. If it is "founded on the Rock" it claims to be, it should stand in individualistic self-consciousness of power. Some are born so that they cannot help but be traditional Romanists. Let that Church have them. They belong to it. All the most materialistic education socialism can give cannot change them. Some are Episcopalian traditionalists, others Presbyterian, others Methodist and others Unitarian. They will settle where they belong by their own intellectual gravitation. More and more are being born materialists. Let them have the same privilege. What is there to fear? "The truth is the mightiest of all things," said an ancient sage. Let it alone! Why cumber the wheels? There is truly nothing so sensational as the truth. There is nothing men fear so much. The Church is afraid of it. The courts are afraid of it, and lawyers use their utmost ingenuity to stamp it out instead of allowing it free utterance. Whoever put the words into the mouth of the Gospel Jesus must have had a tolerably intimate acquaintance with lawyers when he felt it his duty to say:

"Woe unto you also, ye lawyers! for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, and ye yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your fingers. Woe unto you! for ye build the sepulchres of the prophets."

The same words are generally applicable to the clergy. I wonder what he would have said of the modern educator. It is surprising to me that more of our rich men have not seen that the grandest opening to immortality is to endow government scientific schools (the government to continue their development), under such restrictions that the politicians could but keep their hands off. All

privately endowed educational institutions are restricted. None of them belong to the people. They fail to excite any general interest. They are octopi swallowing the rightful inheritances of wives and orphans and strangling the life-blood of national advancement. They should all be either done away with, or absorbed by the State, which should be true to itself and thoroughly do the work vainly attempted by these enemies to the public welfare. Harvard College is a commune of and for itself only. It is not of Massachusetts. The people at large scarcely know of its existence. So of Yale, so of Columbia. So of any theological schools. The people have the first right to the child. After they have done their duty to themselves by it, it can then choose for itself. Then and only then has the special school anything to say in the matter. It can say, "Come, ye disconsolate, who languish in the fold of outside heathenism." The youth should be allowed free selection. It has this natural right if it can individually maintain it. The theological schools deny the right. They make despots of parents. It is the duty of socialism to place its might on the side of the child and educate it generally for the world and especially for itself (socialism), until such time as it knows what it does want. It has been said that endowed educational institutions are limited and communistic. They are limited in usefulness because they must charge more or less for education. They are limited because they are more or less class institutions. They are limited because they eventually become most decidedly nepotistic, and instead of selecting the best from the world at large for instructors, gradually become more or less dependent on their own graduates. All of them have a theological bias in some direction, even if it be in that of so-called "free religion,"—that is, give every one a chance, as Harvard is tending. That gigantic monster in Chicago, due largely to Rockefeller's vanity, is not as broad as it would have us believe. It is theologically limited. The same is unfortunately true of the State universities in the West. They are "free" in name only. They are the centers of theological and political despotism. They have but one thing at present in their favor—they are of the people and for the people.

They belong to the people. They are free as to education, but bound in method.

I have taken much pains to casually sound the people in Massachusetts regarding Harvard, and I have yet to find one who spoke as the westerner does of "Our University, the State University." Only the graduates say, "My college." So far and so far only the State Universities are grand. The foundation in that regard cannot be improved on. In every other way they are more limited and less advanced than our most advanced endowed colleges, like Harvard and Johns Hopkins. The theological fetich plays a very decidedly unimportant rôle within. Their instructors are nominally free men. Not so in the western State Universities. They are of the people and partake of all of the weaknesses of the people. The people west are more the victims of theological superstition than in the east. It runs rampant in the State Universities. They are theologically limited. They have no real place for the Catholic and the Jew. They would much prefer the Chinese. Their faculties are all struck with moral cowardice. I have had some experience with some of them, and the manliest man about them is generally the janitor. Nowhere, except in a special theological school, is the truth so feared. They do not attract the best men. Science is not free in them. It is trammelled on all sides. They have not the means to employ the acme of human development. Their faculties are composed of the most ordinary men. "The woods are full of them." They are afraid to say "their souls are their own." The head of these is more of a "boss" than the president of most of our endowed colleges. He is only to be compared to the head of a parochial school. He is generally an unprincipled hypocrite, and often some "played-out" theologian, who, finding nothing else to do, drifts into these positions as a public parasite, because the people still think theology is something more than tradition. The faculty are born the same way. They are equally death to originality. Their general management is indescribably ridiculous and partakes of all the evils of American politics. Nowhere does the fact that "the government of this country began in a misconception which produced an abortion, and is at present in a condi-

tion of corrupt political gangrene" make itself more apparent than in the management of the State Universities of the west. Nowhere does the curse of the "declaration of independence," which declares all men to be born equal to any public position, and the "constitution" which ratifies the equality, manifest itself more plainly than in the character of the men (some exceptions of course) who have the audacity to become governors of these institutions. Nowhere does the idea more strongly display itself that a government of the people, for the people, by the people, is a fetich than here. Nowhere does the necessity show itself more that the people must be so educated that government in any form or under any circumstances demands absolutely the greatest intelligence among the people than here.

The position not only demands the highest education, but men so born as to be enthusiastic masters of education in all its diversity. As it is, the governors of these institutions are nominated and elected in the same way as a ward or any other politicians, and, in general, it must be said, though sad to relate, they are not up to the intelligence and breadth of character of the smart politician. The positions are honorary, and hence are only filled by men of the smallest and most insignificant bore. The history of these institutions distinctly shows that, with the general and increasing incompetency and corruption of our political life, the governors of these western universities have deteriorated in intelligence and general character. The idea of placing men in charge of the gravest of all public responsibilities who have not education enough, or general interest enough, to know the value of any special branch of education to the public or the true relation of branch to branch is simply ridiculous. There is but one remedy for this condition of things. The whole State educational system should be a unit, with the State University at the head, composed of the public schools as minor units. In a limited degree this condition already exists. But the management is not from a general head. There should be a salaried board of State education, and at present the only practical way of arriving at it is to have it elected from among the teachers of the State by themselves, and confirmed by the law. There are evils in

this method, but until government becomes a science and men born and fitted to lead are elected as governors and presidents, the method is far superior to that of political nomination by the governor, or by election by a people too ignorant and irresponsible to know their duty to themselves. It is time that we had a national university of sciences, conducted on the most free and advanced principles, for the education of specialists in every department of science, and of scientific educators, no one being admitted but the most accredited graduates from other colleges or universities. There should be no general education. Everything should be work in the line of specialties, but there should be no limitation to what a student should study, or to the period of study, no formal graduation, but when a student felt himself competent for what he desired to do he should apply for examination, and, if successful, be granted a certificate in accordance therewith. Fetichism should be studied as any other department of human evolution, but there should be no fetich in or about such an institution. Over its entrance should be cut in letters of adamant :

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